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AN INTRODUCTION TO EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

BY

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

AN understanding of the principles of the new science of sociology, and the application of these principles to our educational work, are of fundamental importance to the student of educational theory and administration. Much light can thus be thrown upon many of our difficult problems of educational practice and procedure. As the author well says in his preface, our schools have in the past drawn their chief inspiration from psychology, and the problem of instruction has been dealt with as though education were almost entirely an individual matter. In so far as we have had a working social theory, too, it has been deduced from philosophical conceptions rather than from a study of society. In our theory of education, our books on management and method, and our conception of the educational process, it has been the individual point of view that has been dominant.

The new science of sociology, by contrast, deals with groups rather than with individuals, and with the needs of society and the State, and any application of this science to the educational process must of necessity shift attention and emphasis from the individual to the needs of society in the large. Training for the individual child will still be important, in reality more important than ever before, but in the light of that type of individual training which will offer the largest democratic opportunity for all and best prepare individuals for participation in and service to the State. The problem of the school, from this new point of view, is how it may best organize and administer itself with a view to rendering the largest service to the State in the training of both individuals

and groups. The school, acting as the agent and servant of the State, thus becomes the chief constructive force for the improvement of society and the advancement of the public welfare. This is a point of view with which those responsible for the organization and administration of public education can hardly become too familiar.

In the present volume the author has presented an important preliminary organization and application in this new field, a field in which we have for some time needed a satisfactory text. In doing so he has rendered a distinct service to the many teachers of education in our normal schools and colleges who have been waiting for the appearance of such a volume for use with their students. The author has been particularly happy in his many illuminating interpretations of educational history and progress, as set forth in Part I, and the fundamental sociological principles there set forth will repay careful study. In the application of these principles to our educational problems, as set forth in Part II, he has presented much that will prove very useful. Besides being of value as a textbook for students of educational theory and administration, this volume should prove of much interest and service to teachers and school officers who desire a social interpretation of our modern educational progress.

ELLWOOD P. CUBBERLEY.

PREFACE

NUMEROUS books on social education have been published during the past few years. These have done much to enlarge our conceptions as to the meaning of education, and to emphasize the fact that society as well as the individual is both a means and an end in our educational system. But these books still leave much to be desired. They have approached the subject from the standpoint of education rather than from that of society. They have been written by psychologists rather than by sociologists. What is now needed is a clear statement of the social and sociological, as distinguished from the individual and psychological, points of view.

In the past our schools have drawn their inspiration more largely from their own traditions than from their social environment. Consequently education has been too much of an isolated institution. But in our day social organization has become so complex and democratic that we are perforce growing more interdependent and coöperative. It is therefore necessary to increase the reach and broaden the content of school work. As the State has come to include within its purview the aims and methods of most other institutions, so the schools must incorporate within their "sphere of influence" a larger share of all the activities of youth. This requires a more extensive and inclusive program of educational ideals and practices than we have adopted up to the present.

In this work of expanding the field of public education, sociology must take a leading part. For the past half-

century psychology has been the dominating factor in whatever educational reorganization has taken place. But the recent growth of sociology as a science demands that in the future it be taken into full partnership in all educational thinking. For a variety of reasons sociologists have been slow to enter the field of education. They have been so busy outlining the methodology, materials, and general principles of a new science that they have scarcely had time to work out many of its applications. A beginning has been made in several fields, however, and the time now seems ripe to make a beginning in education.

As sociologists have succeeded in delimiting their own field of labor they have reached a fair consensus of opinion concerning the basis of all sociological study. The point of departure in such study is the social group, whether the group be large or small, temporary or permanent, simple or complex. It is therefore the social group as an educational unit upon which we must build an educational sociology.

In the following pages the author has attempted to make a preliminary application of the uses to be made of the group unit in educational theory and practice. Unfortunately the original nature of the venture requires an appeal to widely variant classes of students. In writing for sociologists untrained in educational theory, educators untrained in sociology, and undergraduates with little training in either field, it has been found necessary to exclude much theoretical material of importance and to include much material of an elementary nature. The author's aim has been at all times to keep in mind the actual needs of students of education of college rank, rather than to make an appeal to experts in either education or sociology. What is here written is the result of several years of experience in trying to impress upon college students who are expecting to teach the larger educational point of view that sociology offers to the

educator. The author hopes that the present volume may be found to be a useful introductory text in this important new field, leaving to a later date a scientific and logical treatise on the principles of educational sociology.

The author is especially indebted to Professor Charles H. Cooley, of the University of Michigan; Professor Edward H. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin; and Professor U. G. Weatherly, of the University of Indiana, for reading parts of the manuscript and offering criticisms and suggestions; to Dean F. J. Kelly, of the School of Education of the University of Kansas, who has given valuable criticisms on almost every chapter, and to Professor Ellwood P. Cubberley, editor of the series, whose advice and aid have been invaluable. Ideas have been drawn from many sources, but these will be recognized in the body of the work.

WALTER ROBINSON SMITH

EMPORIA, KANSAS,

March 15, 1917.

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PART I
SOCIOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

AN INTRODUCTION TO EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER I

SOCIOLOGY AND ITS RELATION TO EDUCATION

Sociology. The briefest acceptable definition of sociology is that it is the science of human association. Its study implies an examination of the laws and principles underlying human relations and an interpretation of the phenomena of group life. It is the youngest and least developed of the general sciences to challenge the attention of the thinker and the educator. On that account it has been made the scapegoat of many intellectual and sentimental sins. Enthusiastic students and fanatical reformers have both rioted in its inviting fields and used the name of science to further their propagandas. Careful scientists have likewise been at work, and, while frequently differing in methods of approach and formulæ established, they have succeeded in laying firmly the foundations of this most promising, in many respects, of all the sciences.

The term "sociology" was first used and the basic conceptions of the new science proclaimed in Auguste Comte's *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, published in 1842. His vaguely defined ideas were shortly taken up and elaborated by Herbert Spencer, August Schäffle, and Lester F. Ward. They were followed by a host of other investigators and writers, and about twenty-five years ago sociology began to enter the universities as a regular study. This led to a more uniform method of treatment, and a better consensus

of opinion regarding the scope and limitations of the field of knowledge to be covered.

The field of sociology. A general statement of this field appears in Professor Franklin H. Giddings's comprehensive definition as follows: "Sociology is an attempt to account for the origin, growth, structure, and activities of society by the operation of physical, vital, and psychical causes working together in a process of evolution." This definition indicates clearly the relation of sociology to the other sciences, and its differentiation from them. For a knowledge of the "physical, vital, and psychical causes" or laws it is wholly dependent upon the physical sciences, the geology, geography group, biology, and psychology. None of those sciences, though, deal with the "origin, growth, structure, and activities of society," which is exactly what sociology does deal with. In the same way sociology depends for much of its material upon the laws and principles and data of the other social sciences — history, economics, politics, ethics, criminology, ethnology, etc. It is differentiated from them, however, by the generality of its problems, data, and conclusions. Economics deals with one phase of society, political science another, ethics a third, and so on. Sociology, on the contrary, deals with society as a whole, whether treated in small units, such as the family and tribe, or in larger units, such as the State and Christendom.

Any system of sociology — and it is so complex and comprehensive that most of the writers who attempt to cover the field speak of their efforts as a system — must treat more or less fully four phases of society. The first phase is that of social origins. Sociology must explain the basis of human association. Man is not primarily social any more than he is individualistic. There must be some basis of attraction to get him to unite in social groups, and

some cohesive force to hold those groups together. Many of our social customs and institutions have their roots deep in the early history of man's life on this planet, and those origins must be traced and explained. The expanding literature of sociology indicates that this is rapidly being done.

Stages in human development. The second phase of sociology deals with social history. Man is found in three fundamental stages of development — savagery, barbarism, and civilization, each of which may be subdivided into other stages. A fourth stage is distinguished by some writers, that of enlightenment or culture. The steps of advancement in this progress must be noted, and the evolution of our organized social structure traced. Our ordinary history deals almost wholly with civilization, and this must be supplemented by the work of the archæologist, ethnologist, and sociologist. This phase is generally called “historical” or “descriptive” sociology.

The third phase of sociology is concerned with social conditions or social theory. It may be said to deal with society in cross-section, and is primarily analytical. Social beliefs, customs, traditions, institutions, social feelings, sentiments, opinions, and actions must be analyzed, classified, and set forth.

The final phase of sociology deals with social amelioration and progress. Whatever is grew out of something that was, and is leading to something that will be. If we know what exists and how it came to be what it is, we know the stream of tendency and can, with reasonable scientific certainty, predict the immediate future in any line. Likewise, if we know the influences which made any human condition what we find it to be, we can, with scientific precision, point out the influences that must be brought to bear upon that condition to improve it. Thus we have practical or applied sociology.

Pure *versus* applied science. A better division of the subject from our standpoint would be to include the first three phases, social origins, social history, and social conditions, under the general term of "pure" sociology, as distinguished from "applied" sociology. This would preserve the distinction found in the other sciences between the pure and applied. Pure science in any field deals with the laws and principles of the particular science; applied science, with the applications of those laws and principles to the various arts of life. We have pure mathematics, and applied mathematics as worked out in mechanics and engineering. Likewise, we have pure psychology, and genetic, abnormal, and educational psychology. Used in this sense pure sociology treats of the general laws and principles of the science, while applied sociology deals with its application to the social problems of contemporary life. Pure science in general exists for the sake of applied science. As the value of physics or psychology is judged by the importance of the arts for which it forms the basis, so the value of sociology will depend upon the aid it can render human welfare by elevating the art of living in an organized society.

The nature of progress. Civilization has shown two kinds of progress — incidental, and deliberately planned or telic. Incidental progress results from pursuing the line of least resistance, of adapting self to environment. Telic progress is the result of thought, of planning, of overcoming obstacles and adapting the environment to self. Incidental progress waits upon circumstances and is necessarily slow. Telic progress pushes ahead to its goal. Physical development is largely incidental; psychic development is more telic. Primitive man developed incidentally; modern man deliberately. Science has been the handmaiden of telic growth. As the science passes from the physical to the

psychic, from nature to man, it becomes more direct in its telic significance. The science which can apply its principles directly to human improvement, to religion, government, morality, and education, may expect to revolutionize those fields. The development of the physical sciences and their application have given man a mastery over natural forces little dreamed of by our ancestors. A similar conquest over retarding human forces will follow greater psychological and sociological knowledge, with its practical application to telic advancement.

The place of sociology among the sciences. The comparative value to existing civilization of the various sciences, when fully developed, may be seen by examining a classification of those sciences. The most illuminating analysis is that of Auguste Comte, as revised by Herbert Spencer and Professor Ward. This classification is based upon the "positiveness" or demonstrability of the data of each science. Mathematics, being the most positive and exact knowledge we possess, is used as the standard of measurement. According to this test the sciences must be grouped in the following serial order: —

1. Astronomy.
2. Physics.
3. Chemistry.
4. Biology.
5. Psychology.
6. Sociology.

An analysis of this grouping shows several lines of development. The first or basic one is from the more exact to the less exact. Thus the phenomena and laws of astronomy may be determined with more finality than those of physics, physics than chemistry, chemistry than biology, and so on through the list. Astronomy deals with cosmic or world

phenomena where the units are large and the laws are so universal that local environment produces little variation. On the other hand, psychology deals with highly organized human units where every phase of environmental pressure produces a distinct variation.

The second line of development is that from the simple to the complex. This follows naturally from the former principle, since the exactness of a science is in inverse proportion to its complexity. The facts and laws and principles of astronomy are few and simple in comparison with those of the less exact sciences of biology, psychology, and sociology. Physics deals with the comparatively simple and unchanging phenomena of matter and material forces, while sociology, the last of the series, deals with complex individuals, organized into highly complex and variable social groups, reacted upon by an infinitely complex environment.

The third basis for the classification is the order of relationship, or "filiation." Each of the later sciences in the series is genetically differentiated from the previous one, and is largely dependent upon it for many of its general principles. A knowledge of physics is necessary to the chemist, of chemistry to the biologist, of biology to the psychologist, and in a less immediate way a knowledge of the general principles of each of the preceding sciences is required in all.

Lines of development in scientific thinking. The development of science follows the general line of evolution from the general to the specific, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, from the physical to the mental. The conclusions of the simpler sciences are used in constructing the more complex; for example, the principles of molecular attraction and biological selection are used to illuminate the study of social laws. The physical sciences pave the way

for the biological, the biological for the psychological, and the psychological for the sociological. One of the advantages sociology has had over the previous sciences is that it was started in a more scientific age, and immediately recognized its dependence upon the previous sciences in the series. It used the principles developed in the simpler sciences in studying its more complex phenomena, and based many of its precepts upon analogies and parallels found in the material and biological worlds. Its progress has been more rapid than the earlier sciences because it had no such struggle as did astronomy to free itself from astrology, or psychology to break the fetters of speculative philosophy.

This genetic relation of the sciences is also the basis of a time relation in their development. Astronomy grew out of astrology centuries ago; physics and chemistry out of natural philosophy and alchemy at a later date; biology got a good start in the eighteenth century; psychology is essentially a nineteenth-century product; and sociology is merely getting under way at the opening of the twentieth century. The exact, the simple, and the parent sciences were developed slowly in ages of crude scientific speculation, each building up principles and methods for its lineal descendant, and all paving the way for rapidity of progress in later times. The scientific spirit of the present is the outgrowth of these cumulative efforts of the past, but it stresses the more significant developments of recent research in the higher fields of the later sciences.

Utilitarian nature of sociology. One other line of development is shown in this classification of the sciences, that of progress from the less directly useful to the more directly useful. Aristotle long ago laid down the principle that the proper study of mankind is man. An understanding of the laws of astronomy is useful, of the principles of physics more useful, and so on, each of the series showing an

ascending scale of relative utility. A knowledge of cosmic principles, of the laws of the physical world, and of the phenomena of early life as presented in biology is highly important; but knowledge in each of those fields is not equally important. The living forms of the biological world are nearer to man and the principles governing their lives are a more intimate concern of his than the questions of celestial control or material domination. Moreover, the vital reactions in the psychical world and the intimate relationships of social organization and control are of still more vital concern to us.

The most utilitarian knowledge we can possess is that of the laws of human association and the principles that guide human action. The promotion of human welfare, which may be considered the chief aim of civilization, depends largely upon a sufficient knowledge of the forces controlling the life about us to guide the activities of society into higher channels. Social betterment is the cry of the age. As the organizer has become the most highly paid worker in our industrial life, so the leader in coöperative social effort is the most highly prized worker in the political, religious, and educational fields. The technical expert whose knowledge gives him control over the forces of nature is less honored by society to-day than the adept manipulator of human forces who is able to dominate world movements. Both workers are necessary, but one deals in a higher order of relations than the other. The wielder of weapons and tools and the delver into nature no longer lead in moulding civilization. Leadership has passed to the student of human nature, the workman whose materials are the mind of man and the constitution of society.

Importance of sociology for education. It will thus be seen that while sociology is the least exact and least developed of the sciences, it is nearest to the heart of man in his

everyday life and hence, in proportion to its development, the most useful. This is particularly true where it is being applied to our institutional organization, and, what concerns us most here, it is especially true with regard to education. If education were primarily an individual matter, then psychology would be its most useful ally; but it has almost everywhere ceased to be such. The individual is no longer trusted to educate himself. Society has assumed that function for him, and, in order to see that he is educated for society rather than for self, group education, mass education, school education, is provided for him. Society has adopted universal compulsory education to protect itself.

Democratic government, democratic religion, and democratic social organization demand democratic education, and are in turn fostered by it. Society is approaching an organic status where it can direct its own progress, and education is its greatest force. The individual is not becoming less important, but more socialized. Social evolution, rather than individual development, is the end in view. The individual will continue to be one pole of our educational effort and psychology will remain the basis of our understanding and development of him; but each generation views him in a more highly organized group life, dominated by a more solidified social consciousness, and subject to a more definite public opinion. Hence our education ever takes on a more social aspect. Our pedagogical literature is filled with articles and books on social education. Our curricula are being worked over to introduce more sociological material, and each study is going through the process of socialization. Even school discipline is ceasing to be individualistic and domineering and is becoming social and democratic.

Social ends of education. The evolution of the aims and ideals of education is illuminating on this point. The older

definitions were individual; recent ones are social. Greek and Roman education aimed to produce a sound mind in a sound body. The ideal was a well-balanced, well-trained, active mind supported by a well-trained physique. This ideal prevailed until the Christianity of the Middle Ages added the moral qualities to the older aim. The prevailing definitions in the early modern era implied the harmonious development of all the powers and capabilities of the individual. The ideal was still individualistic. Church education looked after the saving of the individual's soul, private education his personal advancement. Rousseau, at the middle of the eighteenth century, was still predominantly individualistic. A little more of the community and social aim crept into the work and ideas of Pestalozzi and Froebel and Herbert, whose theories dominated until very recently. In fact, many educational conservatives still hold to the personal-culture idea embodied in Nicholas Murray Butler's definition of education as the "acquisition of the spiritual inheritance of the race."

The educational leaders of the present, in general, accept the broader social idea fastened upon educational philosophy by Professor John Dewey and others during the last quarter of a century.¹ According to prevailing educational thinkers the complete development of the individual is insufficient. The individual must not only possess a sound mind in a sound body, and come into the spiritual inheritance of the race to be fully educated, but he must be brought into active and harmonious relations with his en-

¹ "I believe that the school is primarily a social institution. Education being a social process, the school is simply the form of community life in which all those agencies are concentrated that will be most effective in bringing the child to share in the inherited resources of the race, and to use his powers for social ends. I believe that education, therefore, is a process of living and not a preparation for future living." (John Dewey, *My Pedagogic Creed*, p. 7.)

vironment. The individual is not the only end. Society must form another. The individual must not only be personally efficient; he must be socially efficient. Individual development without training for social service may not only be useless, but pernicious as well. The strong-minded, able-bodied individual is as capable of harm as of good, and frequently so proves. Education must teach coöperation, service, altruism. The educated man must feel his dependence upon society and his responsibilities for its betterment. His ideas must not merely be personal, but social. His intellectual notions and his moral and ethical views must harmonize more or less fully with those of society or he will be estranged and isolated from it and his life rendered futile thereby. Education must train the individual for membership in the family, the State, the Church, the club, and the business world no less than make him an effective thinker and athlete. Social efficiency is our present educational shibboleth.¹

¹ An examination of the following typical definitions of education may be illuminating in regard to the social trend:—

“The aim of education is to dispel error and to discover truth.” (Socrates.)

“Education consists of giving to the body and the soul all the perfection of which they are susceptible.” (Plato.)

“The true aim of education is the attainment of happiness through perfect virtue.” (Aristotle.)

“Education is a development of the whole man.” (Comenius.)

“The attainment of a sound mind in a sound body is the end of education.” (Locke.)

“Education is nothing but the formation of habits.” (Rousseau.)

“Education means a natural, progressive, and systematic development of all the powers.” (Pestalozzi.)

“The object of an education is the realization of a faithful, pure, inviolate, and hence holy life.” (Froebel.)

“The end of education is to produce a well-balanced many-sidedness of interest.” (Herbert.)

“Education is the organization of acquired habits of conduct and tendencies of behavior.” (James.)

“Education means the universal distribution of extant knowledge,” (Lester F. Ward.)

Effects of sociological investigation upon the school. The relation of sociology to this social trend of thought is direct and immediate. For more than half a century sociologists have been collecting social data, applying scientific methods of organization to them, and building up a body of principles for use in the study of social problems. They have also led in applying the principles developed to the improvement of our institutional life. They have insisted until it has become generally recognized that all institutions have social backgrounds which must be understood in order to explain their spirit and working principles and to lay the foundations for their control and direction. Not only their foundations, but their superstructure is shot through with social phenomena and laws. Government, legal systems, social classes, the Church, the business world, — all forms of associated life, in fact, can be understood and improved only upon the basis of our human nature as unfolded through social organization. For this reason the appeal is being made for sociological study of all phases of existing society, and the communal point of view is coming more and more to dominate our present-day thinking.

Social basis of the school. In the field of education this appeal is particularly urgent, and the social point of view is everywhere gaining ground. No other institution is more in need of sociological treatment than the school. Formal education is purely social in origin and practice. It is based upon social sanctions and must work through social channels. Professor Dewey has well said: "A glance below the surface will show that at all times social con-

"It [education] must mean a gradual adjustment to the spiritual possessions of the race, with a view to realizing one's own potentialities and to assisting in carrying forward that complex of ideas, acts, and institutions which we call civilization." (N. M. Butler.)

"Education, then, is that process which seeks to adjust the individual to his physical, mental, and moral environment." (Klapper.)

siderations have been the controlling considerations in educational systems, and this as regards not merely their institutional forms but their subject matter and method of study as well.”¹ Modern school systems are so complex that all of the light that all of the sciences can throw upon them is none too much, and they are so fundamentally important for human welfare that all of the aid which all of the arts based upon those sciences can render in administering and improving them is needed. The science of psychology has rendered great service to education by revolutionizing modern pedagogy. As its principles are better developed and applied we may expect still further aid to be rendered. Nor is there any reason to suppose that sociology has not fully as great a contribution to make to education. Every sociologist from the time of Comte to the present has recognized the fundamental nature of educational institutions, and most sociologists have made some definite contribution to their study. Just as scientific differentiation has made educational psychology one of the most if not the most important branch of psychology, so we may expect educational sociology to become one of the most important differentiations of the science of sociology.

Educational sociology. Educational sociology may be defined as the application of the scientific spirit, methods, and principles of sociology to the study of education. By such study the social laws governing education may be obtained and applied in such ways as will improve our educational practice. Whatever contribution educational sociology can make to educational theory will be reflected in the improvement of the arts of teaching and of school administration.

But it may be argued that the principles of sociology are

¹ Paul Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education*, vol. II, p. 99.

still too inchoate to provide a basis for a scientific educational sociology. Judged by rigid scientific standards, that is certainly true. Yet no science was ever born full-grown, and no other science ever waited until even comparative maturity had been attained to begin its applications to practical life. The rapidity of growth of any science, even its permanent existence, depends upon its applications, and to await the perfection of a science of sociology before attempting its applications to social progress is to doom it to inanity.

Demand for educational sociology. The idea of an educational sociology is not new. As early as 1893 Dr. William T. Harris, whose training and interests were psychological rather than sociological, wrote: —

But no philosophy of education is fundamental until it is based upon sociology — not on physiology, not even on psychology, but on sociology. The evolution of civilization is the key to education in all its varieties and phases — as found in family, civil society, State, and Church, as well as in the school. Once placed on this basis it is easy to connect any one theory of education, that of Froebel, for example with another — that of Chinese verbal memorizing, or that of the study of Latin and Greek in American colleges, and to show their rationale and the amount and kind of positive help given to the pupil by each.¹

A few years later Professor George E. Vincent stated: —

The thought of social philosophy which sees in the development of society the growth of a vast psychic organism to which individuals are intrinsically related, in which alone they find self-realization, is of the highest significance to the teacher, to whom it suggests both aim and method.²

Still later Professor Charles A. Ellwood declared: —

Now, the science of education has evidently two chief problems, the problem of the aim of education and the problem of organizing

¹ *Educational Review*, vol. VI, p. 84. (June, 1893.)

² G. E. Vincent, *The Social Mind and Education*, p. v.

a curriculum which shall be in harmony with that aim. It is the contention of this paper that both of these problems are essentially problems in an applied sociology, and that the science of education, in so far as it concerns these two fundamental problems in education, is essentially an applied science resting upon sociology.¹

* In 1908 Dr. Henry Suzzallo declared: —

As we have a school hygiene and an educational psychology, so we must have what is basic, an educational sociology.

Later testimony has multiplied the number of such statements, and without formal treatment the sociological point of view has crept into our educational literature.

The first definite attempts to formulate an educational sociology took place less than a decade ago. Dr. John M. Gillette, of the Valley City, North Dakota, Normal School, was the first to use the term in connection with a school course. In 1908 Dr. Henry Suzzallo began giving courses in educational sociology in Teachers College, Columbia University, and the following year the writer began a similar course in the State Normal College at Emporia. Interest in the subject has constantly grown, and there seems to be little room for doubt that soon it will be one of the required courses in the training of teachers.

The promise of educational sociology. But to apply even our present knowledge of sociology to education is no easy task. No single effort can be wholly satisfactory, even to the person who attempts it. Many are already working in the field, however, and we may expect rapid progress from this time on. A fair consensus of opinion regarding the point of view is already established, and the methodology will follow. It took several generations to gain for psychology its present ascendancy in the educational field. In fact, real educational psychology has as yet scarcely attained its proper standing. It will naturally take time and much

¹ *Education*, vol. xxxii, pp. 133-40.

carefully spent energy to gain for educational sociology its appropriate recognition in educational work, but stable progress is the result of growth, and is always attained through difficulties. Our present ideas of education were evolved by a process of trial and error in which the fittest survived. The same law of selection will be applied to attempts at the socialization of our schools. If the complexity of social phenomena and the prejudices of established science were not enough to deter early sociologists from the attempt to formulate the science of sociology, neither the size of the task nor the skepticism of educators should prevent their followers from an attempted application of the principles developed to the educational systems of the day. The measure of success attained will be, as in general sociology, in proportion to the difficulties surmounted; and, since sociology is in many ways a synthesis of the sciences, it may be confidently expected that the sociologically dominated education of the future will be for future complex society as superior to the psychologically dominated type of the recent past as the psychological type was to the philosophical and theological types it superseded.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. Why have physical scientists and others objected to the use of the term "science" as applied to sociology? What is a science?
2. Make a distinction between pure and applied science in chemistry. Physics. Biology. Psychology. Sociology.
3. Give a list of illustrations of incidental and telic progress in movements you have known.
4. Show by concrete illustrations the dependence of chemistry on physics, biology on chemistry, psychology on biology, and sociology on psychology.
5. In what ways would a knowledge of sociology be more useful to you as a student in your school than a knowledge of any other science?
6. In the light of the definitions given in the footnote on page 13, discuss the following quotation from Boone's *Science of Education*: "But, as appears from the great definitions by the great minds in all ages, there

is a clear recognition of the fact that education, whether of school or of life, looks toward socializing the individual."

7. How does a science grow? See Dealey and Ward, *Textbook of Sociology*, chap. I.
8. Why has sociology been called a science of sciences?
9. What foundation would there be for a claim that sociology is a more important basis for the study of education than psychology?
10. What are the objections to the teaching of sociology in the high school? What advantages might be gained by it?
11. Make a brief for or against the proposition that educational sociology should be a required study in all normal schools and teachers' colleges.

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CHAPTER II

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE SOCIAL GROUP

Relation of sociology and psychology. A society is a group of intelligent beings possessing conscious likeness, and acting together on the basis of common interests. It is composed of individuals associating with one another in some sort of group relationships. To be properly understood it must be studied from both the individual and the social points of view, and the results harmonized. The study of nature has developed a number of sciences which overlap, but whose boundaries have become fairly well marked. The study of man has likewise developed a variety of sciences, but the phenomena are so complex that their boundaries are less clearly delimited. This is particularly true in the social sciences, and there is even more frequent clashing over the fields of sociology and psychology.

The fundamental distinction, which is sufficient for our purpose here, is clear enough. Sociology is properly concerned with man only in his social aspects, psychology in his individual aspects. The primary interest of sociology is in the study of social relations, while the primary interest of psychology is in the study of individual mental life. The unit of study of sociology is therefore the social group, that of psychology the individual man.¹ Thus sociology approaches the study of the individual through society while psychology approaches the study of society through the

¹ "However we may refine the distinction and confuse the issue by debating the exact dividing line, it still remains true that psychology deals with the individual, and sociology deals with the group." (J. M. Baldwin, *The Individual and Society*, p. 14.)

individual. In pursuing his researches the sociologist cannot overlook the nature of the individual in determining society, nor can the psychologist neglect the influence of society in forming the individual. Hence there arises a debatable ground dealt with by both sociologists and psychologists, and known as "social psychology" or "psychological sociology." Aside from this limited area the fields of the two sciences are clearly marked, and their applications are certainly broad enough and important enough to need all of the energy each can give to his own field. It follows, then, that any controversy as to the respective fields of educational psychology and educational sociology is both profitless and unseemly.

The individual and the group. In approaching the study of education from the sociological standpoint, the basic conception that must be made perfectly clear is the relation between the individual and the group in society. Is the individual, or the group, primary and original? Which one is the basis of education and progress? Are the forces of individual mind and social mind separate and antagonistic, or are they merely different manifestations of the same thing? Is achievement the result of individual or social accomplishment, or of both? If achievement is the basis of progress, which it is generally agreed to be, and original achievement is the result of superior minds, — statesmen, inventors, artists, and reformers, — should our education be directed toward the development of those superior minds, or should it be devoted to the uplifting of the masses, trusting that the leaders of thought will in some way be inspired to achieve by the cumulative and selective forces of life? These questions are fundamental, especially in a sociological treatment of education.

Individual mind and social mind. The best analysis of the relation of individual mind to the social mind that

has yet been made is that of Professor Charles H. Cooley. According to this writer: —

Mind is an organic whole made up of coöperating individualities in somewhat the same way that the music of an orchestra is made up of divergent but related sounds. No one would think it necessary or reasonable to divide the music into two kinds, that made by the whole and that of the particular instruments, and no more are there two kinds of mind, — the social mind and the individual mind. When we study the social mind we merely fix our attention on the larger aspects and relations rather than on the narrower ones of ordinary psychology.¹

In a similar way we might speak of an organized body like the American Congress. At one time we will mean the Congress as a unit working to frame laws for our common country, or in contrast with some other department of government. Again, we will think of the collection of representatives of various districts or the separate personalities composing the congressional assembly. An act of Congress as a whole is not one thing and the acts of Congressmen framing the act another. They are not separate things, but diverse manifestations of the same thing.

We may go even farther. There is no such thing as an individual apart from society, any more than there can be society apart from individuals. They are merely different aspects, obverse sides, if you please, of the same identity. Viewed from one side we see the individual elements of a personality; viewed from the other we see the social elements of the same personality. One of the fundamental errors of the individualistic philosophers and psychologists, who have so largely influenced education in the past, is in considering the individual original and primary. The whole system of Descartes and similar thinkers who assume an independent ego is based upon this false assumption.

Heredity and environment. To get at the fallacy of the

¹ C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 1.

purely individualistic conception it is only necessary to analyze the composition of the individual, and see how he came to be what he is. Every individual is the product of the action of the two forces, heredity and environment. But both heredity and environment have their social as well as their individual aspects. The child is a product of family life, either temporary or permanent, which is itself a social relationship. Moreover, he inherits not only from his immediate parents, but from a long line of ancestors extending back indefinitely. Each of those ancestors was in turn the product of an inheritance which was as much social as individualistic. On the physical side this inheritance has evolved a constantly increasing muscular and organic adaptability, greater complexity and plasticity of brain and nerve structure, and a more inchoate but wider variety of instinctive tendencies. On the psychic side the individual receives a social inheritance which includes the languages, arts, customs, traditions, institutional sanctions, and social organizations of previous ages. He can no more escape the one than the other. Any sort of careful comparison will show that we inherit as large a proportion of our political, religious, and social predilections as we do of our physical aptitudes and tendencies.

In the same way our environment is made up of both individualistic and social elements. Every environment has its peculiar geographical, institutional, and cultural individuality. But it also has its generalized or social features acquired from other environments, either past or present, through the regular channels of social distribution. No environment, even a natural physical environment, can ever be wholly isolated from other environments. It will thus be seen that neither from the standpoint of heredity nor of environment is the individual original and primary. Each of us inherits both individual and social

qualities, and each is thrust into an environment which is the product of both individualistic and communal influences. Hence we may conclude that the human personality as a product of these two forces was originally and is forever an inseparable compound of the individual and the social.

Individualism and communism. Professor Giddings arrives at this same conclusion from a consideration of the phenomena of competition and combination, of individualism and communism: —

The individual, therefore, is not prior to society, or society to the individual. Community is not precedent to competition or competition to community. From the first, competition and community, society and the individual, have been coördinate. Society and the individual have always been acting and reacting upon each other.

Each individual consciousness becomes adjusted to the social state. Each begins to require companionship, and each to comprehend some portion of the consciousness of others. Presently all individuals to some extent think, feel, and will alike, and each consciousness becomes a microcosm of the social system in all its activities.

The physical side of these modifications is their organization in brain and nerve structure, and in muscular habits and aptitudes. By means of this physical organization, in coöperation with the other essential factors of language, literature, and art, the social system is conserved, and is transmitted from generation to generation.

Thus the modification of social units by one another, the modification of society by its units, and the modification of the units by society are always organic phenomena.¹

Innate and acquired characteristics. This inseparability of the individual and the social in man applies no less fully to those qualities we call “innate” than it does to his outer habits. The child is born into a stream of tendencies and influences coming down from a remote past. He is born of those tendencies and influences no less than into them. Whatever he is and whatever he becomes is due to

¹ F. H. Giddings, *The Principles of Sociology*, p. 399.

society, past and present, no less than to the individuality within himself. His conformity to inheritance — that is, his tendency to ^{re-}reincarnate ancestral traits — constitutes his inborn qualities; his conformity to his surroundings creates his habits of life. Personalities like Rousseau, Carlyle, and Walt Whitman, whose individual qualities were especially marked, were made what they were no less by the influences of past life and contemporary surroundings than are other people. Robinson Crusoe on his desert island was a product of the society that developed and later engulfed him. Salient personality is made conspicuous by isolation, but the stamp of the social never leaves the lone hermit nor the innovator who wades upstream in the human current.

In the same way the “I” consciousness cannot be separated from the “you” consciousness and the “we” consciousness. The newborn child receives a variety of impressions which he does not separate into wholes. These impressions gradually begin to differentiate until at about the age of two years he may be said to approach complete consciousness of himself as an individual. This emergence of the “I” consciousness has been gradual. Parallel with it has grown the “you” consciousness and the “we” consciousness. The child cannot be conscious of self until he is conscious of what is not self. In other words, his social consciousness emerges at the same time as his self-consciousness, and is just as primary and original. “Self and society are twin-born, we know one as immediately as we know the other, and the notion of a separate and independent ego is an illusion.” ¹

Types of individuality. Another phase of the relation between the individual and the social group appears in the analysis of individual types. There are two kinds of

¹ C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 5.

individuality, one of isolation and one of choice. The one is the result of random or accidental variation; the other is rational and functional. The shipwrecked sailor, the hermit, the mountaineer, or the sheep-herder, far removed from the tumult of life, shows individuality. But his is the individuality of separateness, of queerness it may be. He is likely to be a nonconformist when brought into contact with highly organized society. His dress, his speech, and his habits are individual. Remote tribes, or island populations, or groups of people shut in by mountain fastnesses, preserve their quaint dialects and customs. Country life, by virtue of its limited human contacts, breeds a type of independence and self-reliance not characteristic of the crowded cities. Many of the geniuses of the past have been conspicuously the product of isolation. Isaiah, Peter the Hermit, Savonarola, and Thoreau are types. In fact every great man must have periods of isolation and loneliness, when lesser souls are far removed and so unsympathetic as, at least, to appear hostile.

The other type of individuality, that of choice, is bred of the busy marts of trade, rises out of the maelstrom of political struggle, or emerges from the heat of social conflict. It is the individuality that dominates business organization, government control, and social reform, the supremacy developed in the schools, the inspiration absorbed in the art center, the burning ambition acquired only through social leadership. Human contact, intimate companionship, fraternal encouragement, are its bases. The individuality of choice is especially the product of group influences and finds its outlet in group activities. As society grows more complex, and we become more mutually dependent upon each other, it becomes more conspicuous and more necessary. This is shown particularly in the development of specialization.

The individualism of specialization. It is an accepted principle of biology that complexity of organic function leads to differentiation of organic parts, or the development of special organs to perform special functions. The same principle holds true in human society. The greater the complexity of society the greater the tendency toward specialization. Where social conditions and opportunities are so varied that there are many lines of choice, each individual may, to a large extent, choose his companions, interests, and activities. He can exercise his particular bent or talent and find or originate organizations to nourish these individual tendencies. Hence the greater the complexity of a society or of an environment, and the wider the range of specialized forces at work, the greater the chances of developing strong individuality of the type that will function in social advancement.

It is thus that specialization reacts upon individuality. What isolation does for the remote personality, specialization does for the individual in the group. The environment of the isolated individual demands originality, independence, and ingenuity. But the group environment demands the same qualities of the specialist. Necessity is the mother of invention in the one case, group stimulus and group rewards in the other. The superiority of group rewards, as shown by the stimulus of mere appreciation, of social position, and of encouragement and rivalry, over the push of necessity in obtaining effective effort is equally well known to the psychologist and to the practical administrator of affairs. Comparatively few great inventions, or literary masterpieces, or artistic creations can be traced to the driving power of necessity. The achievements which have been most influential in building up civilization have been mainly the result of social inspiration through some sort of group contacts. The specialist may far outstrip the

possibility of public appreciation, but he must remain within the comprehension of a group of sympathetic spirits or his work will go for naught and his inspiration will ultimately vanish. In other words, individuality is necessary to specialization, and specialization reinforces this individuality through group stimulus, and the combination of these two forces is the soundest basis for progress. This may be illustrated from the field of art.

Individuality and group inspiration in art. Early art sought perfection in a few national or class types. These types were doubtless developed by primitive random individualists; but they could never advance far without the differentiation of a group of specialists dominated by the craft spirit. When any exterior force representing the larger public, such as the Church or the State, interfered to such an extent as to crush this group spirit, art ceased to grow. Egyptian and Babylonian sculpture developed while those nations were in a formative state, but later certain national and religious types were so firmly fixed that no deviation from the stereotyped models was permitted. Both random individuality and the individuality of group specialization were thus destroyed, and further progress was made impossible. On the other hand, Athens encouraged both types of inspiration, and Greek sculpture has been the model of the ages. In the same way the mediæval Italians developed one type of painting, the Holy Family, to a point not since equaled because each generation of painters worked in a narrow field, perfecting a few models by slow degrees. They had back of them the general appreciation and encouragement of the Church, and the intensity of stimulus of the small group of artists who accepted the leadership of the ablest.

It must be remembered, however, that all ancient art was confined within narrow limits, both in range of sub-

ject-matter and in public appreciation. But modern art is as broad as life, and very complete independence is allowed the individual artist in any line. The expression of random individuality, however, is limited, first by a lack of public recognition, and then by a lack of group appreciation. The result is that artists are generally ranged in schools, emphasizing certain ideals and accepting certain restraints. For example, we have schools of painting, — portrait, landscape, and *ensemble* painters, cubists, pre-Raphaelites, and impressionists, — each individual inspired by collections of past art, his particular school of the present, and possessing an unlimited field of individual choices beyond. Present art may seem confused and shackled by these conventional schools, but they are necessary to provide group stimulus and restraint and to organize back of the craft spirit a broader range of taste and appreciation on the part of an ever-enlarging public.

In the field of science there is a similar differentiation into special fields. We no longer have general scientists, but we have physicists, biologists, psychologists, etc. Moreover, each of these realms of knowledge is being subdivided into minor groups, with highly specialized experts working in narrow fields, but with all of the inspiration that class consciousness and the craft spirit can add to individual initiative. Individuality is not lost, it is merely redirected. The same tendency to specialization is found in social, economic, and political life, the effort being everywhere to develop class and party adherence and loyalty without crushing personal initiative, and to use the group spirit to bolster up and vitalize individuality. The net result is that, as civilization advances and society approaches more nearly an organic state, the individuality of separateness becomes less important. Periods of isolation will still be necessary for the individual to clarify his thought and

mature his plans, but greatness of accomplishment will become more and more inseparable from the use of all the advantages a highly organized society, divided into inspirational groups, has provided for aiding personal achievement.

Group and national individuality. What is true of personalities is equally true of isolated social groups. The separateness of the Hebrew people might have been necessary to preserve Judaism; but it was this same Judaistic separateness that rejected the broader teachings of Christ and hindered the early spread of Christianity. Probably the religious separateness of monastic life was a necessary antidote to Christianization by Roman proclamation in the early Christian centuries; but the destruction of monasticism was necessary to pave the way for the more democratic religion of the modern era. Every new organization must build its foundation upon intensity of feeling and unity of effort, which requires rigid organizational boundaries; but if its mission is to be far-reaching, it must break through these boundaries and open up lines of communication and avenues of influence to an ever-widening public. The good of the whole, mass progress, demands that every social group feed into the whirling vortex of civilization.

The type of individuality needed. It must not be supposed that both kinds of individuality have not always existed, and that they will not continue to exist. The ability to stand alone, defying, if need be, all others, will characterize the outstanding men of the future no less than the men of the past. The democratic leader of the masses and the dominant figure of a group will still be apart from their followers, as the non-social dictator of the past was from all men. Probably the greatest difference between the two lies in the fact that the old type of hero stood alone from

preference, the new one from necessity arising out of some deliberately made choice. A certain amount of aloofness remains necessary in our advanced society; but breadth of sympathy and intimacy of contact, which require conformity to reasonable social restraints, is becoming more necessary to free human energy for the greater accomplishment of leading organized group forces to some deliberately chosen goal.

Invention *versus* socialization. From the previous discussion it readily follows that achievement is neither wholly the work of individuals nor of social groups. It is impossible to separate the shares in progress due to each. No group can advance without leaders, and no leaders can exist apart from society. The genius, the great inventor, the true *élite*, are necessary to originate the standards of society, to do most of its thinking and planning, and to create its works of art; but the contributions of the masses are necessary to check up these standards in harmony with universal human nature, to give reality and vitality to the sublimated ideas of the thinkers, and to furnish inspiration and reward to the artist through appreciation and selection. The individual originates, but society perpetuates. Social progress is the result of a series of individual contributions of great men, translated into social achievements by popular usage. This is accomplished through the process of socialization.

Socialization is in turn brought about by communication in its various forms, such as speech, printing, and transportation systems; by competition and coöperation, as worked out in ordinary association; and by deliberate social organization. These agents tend to universalize any valuable idea or process. Civilization consists, not merely in the discovery of cultural agencies, but in using and disseminating them. True progress of a permanent type is

inseparable from the spread of the elements of progressive understanding and action from the select few to the many composing social groups. The masses must be made suggestible enough to absorb new ideas and stable enough to maintain the new planes of intellectual attainment established, on the basis of which new generations of civilization builders may work. It will thus be seen that invention is no more vital an element of progress than is socialization, and that the two processes are bound together in an unending chain of mutual cause and effect.

Application to education. The application of the foregoing principles to educational theory is not far to seek, but their application to educational practice is a difficult process which will require years to complete. It means the working-over of education from the sociological standpoint. A general statement of the present situation and the necessary changes, however, can be made in a few paragraphs.

That the essential unity of the individual and the social group as outlined above has never been fully recognized in our schools is evident. Our educational system has been built mainly upon the individual as a foundation. He has been the focus of our vision, and his development and salvation have been the ends in view. Society and social needs have had scant attention. The social aspect has occasionally been recognized, but not sufficiently emphasized. It has been considered secondary, an afterthought, a sort of residuum into which surplus educational effort might be put. After the individual had been trained into an effective machine his attention should be directed to the importance of using his power for the public weal. The individual must be educated in order that he may become an intelligent voter, a fruitful producer, and a cultivated member of society. Greek education, Roman education, mediæval education, and modern education up to a very recent date,

may be searched in vain for either a clear statement of a democratic social view or a consistent effort to put into practice a system of training in which the social needs were not subordinated to the individual needs and desires.

Training for social participation. It may be suggested that the Athenian was educated for citizenship. But it must be remembered that Athenian citizenship was confined to the *élite*. An overwhelming majority of both Greeks and Romans were considered unfit for education; most of them, in fact, were abject slaves. Mediæval and early modern education was confined to the very select few. But social education must be for all. It is democratic education, and wherever the public point of view crept into earlier education and demanded training for citizenship, it was only for the small part of the people who took part in government and social leadership. So whatever we now have of the idea of universal citizen training for the sake of society is of very recent origin, scarcely ante-dating the middle of the nineteenth century.

Even now the general demand is training for citizenship, whereas the social view demands training into citizenship. This is not a mere distinction of words; it implies a vast difference in point of view. The former looks toward the intellectual training of the individual; the latter toward his active aid in the work of the State. The one sort of training may be given in isolation; the other must be done in groups. The first may be tutorial; the last must be group instruction. Knowledge may prepare for citizenship; only enlightened character can live citizenship. The political crook may know a great deal about statesmanship; it takes a patriot to practice it, and dynamic patriotism can be developed only by emotionalizing social contacts through group activities.

This same distinction is as important in other phases of

social organization as it is in the State. Education should not prepare one for business. It should train him into business habits and graduate him into the business world. Public education should not strive to develop cultivated individuals merely for their own sake; it should develop cultivated members of society. Education should not prepare one for membership in the church, the club, the family; it should in some direct way make each person a more efficient and vital part of those organizations.

Education must be emotionalized. Thus to the individual educational end must be added the social end. It is not enough for the individual to know what to do; he must want to do it. Motive must be developed no less than skill. This is inseparable from group training. Love for others is not the product of isolation. Children brought up alone are proverbially selfish. With the most careful training they are usually self-centered, coöperate with other children with difficulty, even in play, and are handicapped both in social understanding and fellow-feeling. Who does not recognize and pity the man who was cheated out of a social childhood — a childhood of group-play, of organized conflict, of intimate friendships, and of loyal enthusiasms? The economic necessity that compelled us to organize schools and classes and teach *en masse* was bred of deeper wisdom than man dreamed of. Whatever of altruistic feeling we have been able to develop is the subtle outgrowth of the attrition of human units in close contact and intimate association.

Moral education. It is the social aspect of education that compels us to emphasize character and motive, and which points the way to the moral education now so universally demanded. Morals are merely *mores*, or customs socialized. A moral is a beneficial personal habit, or a social custom whose exercise is useful to the group in the long run

and in the highest sense. Ethics is a pure science, and ethical thinking has little more to do with moral practice than mathematical thinking. Moral education requires not only the development of correct ethical insight, but training into moral habits of action. Social education alone can result in proper social reactions. Social habits are as important as individual habits, and they can be acquired only in the social group. Not that social habits can be separated from individual habits; it follows from the thesis previously elaborated that they are merely different aspects of viewing the personal and the social. But since our education has emphasized the personal and neglected the social, a balance can be established only by specially stressing the latter. It is the function of sociology in education to aid in establishing this balance and to see that it is maintained throughout our educational system. It must see that the social viewpoint and the social end are as continually present in the training of the child and youth as the individual aims. That will require the pouring of a stream of sociological material into our curricula, both in new subjects and new adaptations of the subject-matter of the traditional studies to social functioning, and a working-over of our educational plants so that school life will dovetail into every phase of our organized social life outside the schoolroom. Our socialized education of the future must not neglect the individual aspect, must not fail to develop personal intelligence and rectitude; but it must also emphasize the social aspect, must see that social enlightenment and social service are implanted as working ideals in the after lives of the individuals who must live together in social groups.

Self-sufficiency *versus* group-sufficiency. The distinction between the two types of individuality previously made — that of isolation and that of choice — points to another

demand of socialized education. Education defined as the physical, mental, and moral development of the individual meant training into self-sufficiency. It was adapted to the first type of individuality in a crudely organized society where leadership was personal and independence highly prized. Training adapted to the individuality of choice, however, must train into a certain social dependence, which we may call "group-sufficiency." Primitive education fostered the self-sufficient type of individual; modern education must foster the coöperative type. In our highly organized society greatness of the individual is more and more dependent upon the greatness of the group. Achievement is coming to be a rationally coöperative effort. Hence greater stress must be placed upon the development of the individuality of choice. This calls for education that will place the student into organized relations with his fellows, where as much of school work as is possible will be coöperative, and where one may choose, as freely as the conditions of life will permit, the lines of effort most pleasing and productive. That this is being more and more recognized is shown by the widespreading development of professional or class schools, and the freedom of choice granted the student in the selection of his studies.

Let it not be forgotten that primitive man was scarcely more individual than modern man. Within the family or clan or tribe associated life was no less important than to-day. It might be, in fact, all-important. Defense, sustenance, and life frequently depended upon it. But coöperative activities were few, and confined within small groups. As civilization developed, the associational limits were enlarged to states, nations, and world units. In primitive times patriotism and loyalty had narrow bounds, and two clans or tribes could make peace or war. Now all Europe is mutually dependent through alliances, and must engage

in a titanic struggle when two second-rate powers disagree. Even a century ago armies were numbered by thousands; now they must be numbered in hundreds of thousands. Yet the leaders of these twentieth-century armies are no less individual than were Charlemagne, Frederick the Great, and the Duke of Wellington. They merely lead differently. The earlier conquerors were dictators, driving their armies and their people; the later ones are leaders, largely subject to the will of their followers. Early leaders seemed to stand on a different plane from their followers; later leaders merely tower above them.

Training required for both leaders and followers. Education must adapt itself fully to these changing conditions. Instead of training the individual to domineer, it must train him to dominate through intelligent leadership. Where individualistic education enabled the hero to stand alone, social education must train him to stand at the head of a militant group. Likewise, where the subject demanded dictation, the citizen demands leadership. Social education must train the follower to follow. He must be trained to choose his leader wisely and follow consistently. The difference between the modern public meeting and the Roman, or mediæval, or French-Revolution mob has been brought about by the ease and frequency of present-day communication, and the breadth and constancy of discussion which forms the basis for a wide range of free choices in men and measures.

If the American public is to be dominated by deliberate opinion rather than by impulsive feeling, social education must be general. Individual education does not sufficiently develop the inhibitory mental processes necessary to restrain waves of crowd feeling and panics of public excitement. People must be trained into social control by social organizations of a democratic type. These must be fostered in our schools that the child may grow up trained

to accept the restraints of his fellows, and to choose lines of thought and action based upon judgment rather than prejudice. Individuals must be trained that they may choose wisely the leaders to carry out their ideals and the policies those ideals require. Mass education is necessary, not only to lift up the masses, but to train those masses to select the best leaders; and the same education that will teach the masses to act rationally will force to the front, by a process of elimination and selection, the salient personalities necessary to wise leadership.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. What is achievement? How is it related to civilization? (See J. Q. Dealey, *Sociology*, chap. III.)
2. Show the interdependence of the individual student and the social group in your school.
3. Analyze the main forces which have made your present environment what it is. To what extent is it hereditary?
4. What is the educational significance of the biological dictum that acquired characters are not hereditary?
5. What are instincts? To what extent are they social? (See C. A. Ellwood, *Sociology in its Psychological Aspects*, chap. IX; or E. C. Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, chap. XIII.)
6. Give illustrations of the individuality of isolation and of choice, as shown by different communities in the United States. Tabulate the historical leaders of your State, and see which ones were conspicuously the products of isolation.
7. Is the independent in politics more individualistic than the party leader? Illustrate. Is the tendency toward individualism unified or does it break up into parts, making one a conformist in some institutional attitudes and a nonconformist in others?
8. How much did Columbus contribute toward the discovery of America? Would it have been long delayed had Columbus never been born? Show to what extent the discovery was due to a group of adventurers rather than to any one man.
9. Was the steam engine a group or an individual invention? The flying machine?
10. To what extent is your school an individual and to what extent a group project?
11. Should the university professor devote more time to research or to teaching? Why?

12. To what extent is training for social participation evident in your school?
13. Can motive be educated? If so, how?
14. How can education affect the tendency to mob violence in the United States?

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CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Association. Association is the basic fact of sociology. The Aristotelian dictum that man is a social animal must be qualified by recognizing that he is just as instinctively individualistic; but in spite of this individualism, it is without controversy that human life has everywhere and always been a collective or associated life. Human nature itself is the product of association, and the better balanced the type of human being the greater is his debt to his associates. Civilized man is more human than the savage because of his ages of both organic and social inheritance. His organic inheritance is shown by the quantity and quality of his brain and nervous structure and the adaptability of his physique, while his social inheritance is shown in organized society with all of its influences and forces arranged to impress upon the individual the accumulated traditions and demands of the race. Using the term "education" in its broadest objective sense we may say that it consists of the complex total of the influences and forces which society brings to bear upon the individual for the purpose of developing and socializing him.

Field of educational sociology. It is the province of sociology to study human association in its origin, development, forms, function, and control; but in specific applications of the subject these phases cannot always be readily distinguished, and need not be treated separately. Educational sociology must take account of every phase of sociological thought, but in an elementary treatise an application of the teachings of each division of the general

field would be needlessly complex and academic. It will be our purpose, therefore, to simplify the subject in the following pages by grouping the various principles to be applied to education about social organization as a central core.

Social organization. For this purpose we shall use the term "social organization" in the rather large meaning given to it by Professor Charles H. Cooley in his *Social Organization*. In this sense it embraces most of the phenomena and laws of association. An organization may be simple or complex, ranging all the way from small groups of two or more, to large groups comprising a whole nation or race. It may likewise be largely conscious or wholly unconscious, the types varying from the adherents of a particular custom to the deliberate coöperative aims of an international group. If we accept the psychologist's figure that the life of an individual is "a stream of consciousness," we may carry it over into sociology by saying that the life of society consists of the assembling of these streams into rivulets, the rivulets into rivers, the rivers into the sea, and the radiation of the assembled waters to be again precipitated for the creation of more individual streams. The tendency of the particles of water to coalesce is not greater than the tendency of human beings to join together for the fulfillment of life's purposes. This comparison must be rectified at one point, since the streams of water lose identity after coalescence, while in the case of human association the individual identities remain separate.

Social osmosis. Whenever two or more persons meet, some sort of mutual influence is generated. Professor Hayes has aptly called this process "social osmosis": —

Individual streams of consciousness flow on side by side within the social process, and between these individual streams of consciousness there is a continual osmosis. Indced the content of the

stream of consciousness of any one of us has been mainly derived from the infiltration of ideas and sentiments from the society in which, from our empty infancy, we have been continually immersed. But as in osmosis there is a passage in both directions through the separating membranes, so in association, as soon as we acquire a definite individuality and content for our own stream of consciousness, we give out as well as receive.¹

This social osmosis becomes the basis of the personal side of education through human contact, whether these contacts are obtained in the school or in some other phase of society.

Communication. The chief agency for bringing about this interchange of influence is communication. Direct communication is carried on largely by means of facial expression, speech, and action, but society has invented a variety of modes of indirect communication which have increased in influence as civilization has advanced. Among these are writing and printing, the fine arts, the telegraph and telephone, and other physical agencies for facilitating indirect communication. In addition to such symbolic factors as language, art, and physical invention, society has developed customs, institutions, and organizational structures by which contacts and influences are both facilitated and perpetuated. All these means of social distribution have been built up through ages of social evolution, and remain at hand for the use of society in carrying the individual rapidly through the stages by which the race has evolved to a plane of culture where he may more readily contribute to its further advancement.

Association and education. The significance of this direct communication and indirect social absorption for education is evident. All human contact is educative. It is not, however, all equally educative, nor is all educative experience helpful. The criminal is educated into his criminality as

¹ E. C. Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, p. 303.

well as the philosopher into his wisdom or the virtuous man into his goodness. Since whatever facilitates human contact facilitates education, the whole process of social organization and control is at least an indirect means of education. Education, though, as a by-product of general social activities is insufficient to satisfy a progressive society. Education as a by-product is an agent of genetic development alone, whereas progress demands that it be made an agent of telic development. Society, therefore, attempts to control contacts by eliminating the harmful and substituting the more useful for the less useful. A series of sanctions in favor of certain types of conduct, and a series of taboos against other types of conduct, is built up in the public mind. These are first embodied in public feelings; then in public opinion, first enforced through custom; then later by law.

Social selection applied to youth. Social contacts during the impressionable period of childhood and youth are particularly potent and are therefore carefully guarded. Children are forbidden certain amusements open to elders, such as frequenting poolrooms; are denied certain practices, such as playing on the streets after curfew; and are frequently refused information as to sex, business, and other matters. So important do we consider the contacts of children that we supervise their reading, limit their employment by child-labor laws, and select as carefully as possible their companionship.

Not content with this negative restraint we have built up positive control by founding public institutions for them. That their more specifically educational contacts may be of the right sort we have established publicly supported schools, which we compel them to attend, and where as many as possible of the best contacts are provided. Realizing the value of the principle of association, which Dr.

Simmel has called "*Ueber und unterordnung*," or superiority and subordination, according to which one of two individuals in association will give more and receive less than the other, we have established a publicly supervised profession of teaching. We try by law to guarantee that the teacher shall be properly selected and trained, that he shall know more than the pupil, and that he shall have authority over him. In short, society has accepted the ignorance and plasticity of youth as an invitation to exercise guardianship over him, and has established the school as a public institution to provide for him the choicest available contacts preserved from the past and offered by our present environment.

Methods of contactual influence. Professor E. C. Hayes has outlined the elements that enter into the life of society as ideas, sentiments, and overt practices, and the methods by which these elements are passed from one individual to another as suggestion, sympathetic radiation, and imitation. Each of these methods is present in all social contact. Ideas are disseminated only through suggestion. While in ordinary casual association they are given and received more or less unconsciously, teachers and other intellectual leaders use the process of suggestion consciously and deliberately. Formal education is the apotheosis of the intellectual method based upon suggestion.

Sentiments are radiated and perpetuated mainly through the channels of custom and are largely unconscious, although in certain cases styles, tastes, ambitions, and standards of conduct are deliberately fostered. For example, a conscience is thus laboriously built up by parents and others in teaching the young. Professor Hayes states: —

No one is born with a conscience, though all normal human beings are born with the capacity to develop one. Thousands even in civilized society never have the opportunity to acquire a normal

conscience. A conscience code is the product of race experience in race evolution, and this product of race experience is imparted to each new generation by sympathetic radiation. By the hard lessons of experience each society that survives and progresses learns that certain types of conduct are essential and other types of conduct are destructive to the realization of its standard of social welfare.¹

As the schools assume broader social functions and accept greater responsibilities for moral education, they will revise their work and organization so that they may more fully use the method of sympathetic radiation in the moulding of character.

Imitation. Imitation in the restricted sense used by Professor Hayes refers to the copying or repeating of the overt actions and practices of one individual by another. Its influence is as universal, although perhaps not so determinative in society, as suggestion and sympathetic radiation. Imitation is of two kinds, ideomotor and rational, or conscious and unconscious. Most of our forms and ceremonies, our etiquette, and many of our manual skills and business practices are gained through the method of imitation. The imitative tendency is conspicuously present in the child, and the naturalistic and informal education of an earlier day was based almost wholly upon it. The better pedagogy of our own day, however, is increasing steadily the emphasis placed upon the former methods; in fact, the organization of school systems and the control of education by society may be explained largely as an effort to extend the use of the higher forms of suggestion and sympathetic radiation where imitation formerly dominated almost completely.

The psychological basis of group education. The psychological explanation of education furnishes another avenue of approach to group influences. From the subject-

¹ E. C. Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, p. 318.

tive standpoint education consists of a series of impressions and expressions. From the objective standpoint it is a means of furnishing stimuli for these impressions and expressions. Individual psychic development may be measured by the breadth and intensity and frequency of repetition of these mental phenomena. The school as an objective educational institution provides a medium for increasing the variety, intensity, and repetition of these impressions and expressions. But any other institution that does this is also educative. All social organizations, therefore, have their educational aspects and functions. Moreover, these organizations surround us from the cradle to the grave, while school influence is limited largely to childhood and youth. In estimating the total forces of education the long-continued and multitudinous nature of extra-school activities and educative contacts have received too little attention and emphasis. Herein the sociological point of view is needed to balance the psychological, and give the breadth of vision necessary for a comparative judgment. To gain this sociological viewpoint it is necessary to understand the objective organization of contemporary society.

Institutions. Just as progress in the biological world has led from the single-celled animal of primitive existence to the highly complex organisms of the present by differentiation of functions and their localization in separate organs, so the progress of society from the loose aggregation of the horde to complex civilization has been characterized by the differentiation of social functions and their embodiment in organized institutions. These institutions, which Professor Cooley has defined as "definite and established phases of the public mind," range all the way from mere inchoate customs and traditions made permanent through semiconscious repetition to the most comprehensive and

effective of social organizations. Each individual is born into an environment abounding in these institutionalized activities and ideals, and through them is constantly gaining contacts with the past and the wider ramifications of the society of the present. The rapidity and extent of individual development depends upon the intensity and variety and repetition of these institutional contacts, no less than upon personal contacts. It is through successive accretions of experience in these associations with others that the personality is enlarged and made sensitive to additional stimuli.

Analysis of social groups. For clarity of presentation the social groupings of society may be divided into three classes, the primary, the intermediate, and the secondary. 1. The primary groups are those "characterized by intimate face-to-face association and coöperation."¹ The intermediate groups are those in which associational contacts are partly direct and partly indirect, while the secondary groups are those in which relationships are almost wholly indirect. The leading primary groups are the family, the play group, and the neighborhood or community group. The most important intermediate groups are the school, the church, and a variety of fraternal organizations, while the secondary groups consist of such organizations as the State, the larger cultural associations, and those utilitarian groups which must depend for their effectiveness upon tradition, printing, and other indirect means of communication. Primary groups are limited in membership and confined to relatively small localities. Intermediate groups have local units in which association is intimate and direct, but depend also upon wider institutional forces for their spirit and direction.

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For example, the Church as an organization has its local

¹ C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 23.

congregation where contactual influences are direct and personal, and in addition its larger denominational influences coming from church literature, general church assemblies, and the body of ecclesiastical symbolism inherited from the past. Likewise the school has its local organization where contacts are direct and personal, but in addition it has its larger institutional influences gained through textbooks, general educational conferences, and the body of traditions, materials, and methods acquired through social inheritance.

Secondary groups embrace large numbers, joined together by relatively weak ties, and exert their influence through indirect channels. In the primary groups contacts are personal; in the intermediate, both personal and institutional; and in the secondary, largely institutional. These groups are not mutually exclusive, but fade into one another at many points; yet that is true with reference to all groups of social or even natural phenomena, and should not impair the usefulness of classification. The line of demarkation occurs where the relationship passes over from the personal into the institutional.

Influence of primary groups. The primary groups form the most elementary organizations of human society. They are universal, being found in all stages of development from the crudest savagery to the highest enlightenment. The relative importance of these groups varies with the locality and the nature of the social organization found, but no one of them is ever wholly lacking. They may likewise be called "original groups," since they constituted the first bases of social relations in primitive life and form the child's first introduction to group relations at present. They were the nurseries of human nature in the beginning, and they remain the active forces in the unfolding of human nature in the infant to-day.

It must be remembered that the child comes into this

world with a very meager equipment. His bundle of instincts is limited and inchoate, partaking more of the nature of physical demands than of psychic realities. Among these instincts are those leading to sociability, but they are less immediate and insistent than his individualistic wants and needs. Starting with these active animalistic self-impulses, a long process of training is necessary to develop a fully humanized and socialized being.

The arousing and early development of the gregarious instincts can be brought about only by the directness and intimacy of small group contacts. It is in the family circle or among playmates where the virtues and social ideals are first noted. There consciousness begins to expand. The "you" consciousness and the "we" consciousness develop along with the "I" consciousness; but, in the beginning, they take in very small groups. It requires effort and training and continuous contacts, both competitive and coöperative, to extend the altruistic elements of this intimate association to larger groups of less intimate fellowship. This is done by gradually enlarging the family circle, the play group, and the number of people included in the community group. Thus the patriarchal family was merely an enlargement of the single family by including all direct descendants in one group under a patriarchal leader; children's games calling for division into sides or teams serve to enlarge the numbers included in smaller play groups; while community organization is a method of unifying sentiment and ideals more rapidly and effectively than random individual contacts could do.

Primary ideals. By enlarging personal contacts and relationships the primary virtues, such as sympathy, fairness, loyalty, tolerance, and service, are extended from the small groups to include ever-enlarging numbers of people. The social nature and ideals of the individual are thus expanded.

Communication is established by means of facial expression, gesture, and language. Group consciousness is formed by the fusion of separate individualities into a common whole through joint activities and a realization of the common life and purposes of the group on the part of each individual which becomes a part of his real self. This does not require the submergence of self-feeling or the sacrifice of individual ambition and initiative. Nor does it mean the complete replacement of the selfish and appropriative passions by harmony and love. It does mean, however, that a large share of the energy and self-assertion of the individual will be absorbed in the effort to obtain some sort of social recognition; that in order to get a share of the common advantages and to increase the sum total of common goods the individual will sacrifice some of his self-ends to the larger group purposes; and that he will join others in feeling and maintaining "common standards of service and fair play." In learning to do this the individual becomes a compound of self and social impulses, habits, and ideals.

Expansion of ideals in intermediate and secondary groups. The expansion of consciousness and the corresponding stretching of the elementary human virtues in the primary groups is continued in the intermediate groups. School and church relations among children are dominated by personal contacts and local interests during early years, but the indirect influence of textbooks, religious literature, and denominational organization become more important with increasing age. These widening extensions of interest, sympathy, and coöperation are seized upon by state and national organizations of the secondary type, and a whole series of indirect contacts and appeals and responses are established. Cosmopolitan influences, standards, and judgments are thereby stimulated and maintained as a coun-

terbalancing force against local and provincial separateness. National, racial, and world visions, virtues, programs, and organizations are thus established and fostered.

The history of the human race has shown this expansion of group consciousness and coöperative capacity from the

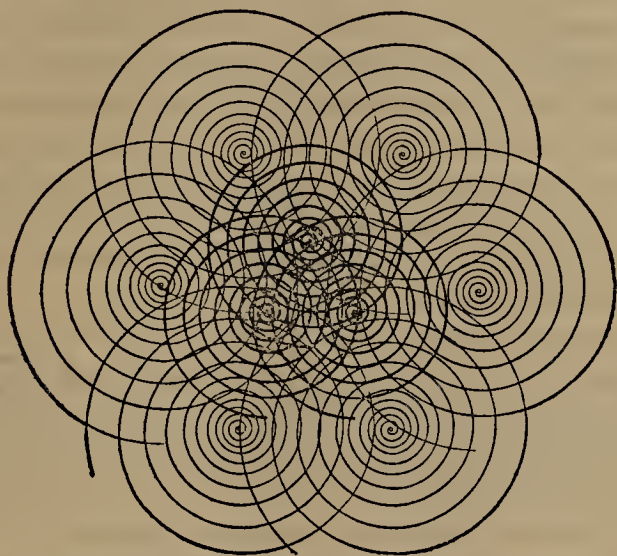


FIG. 1. INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP EXPANSION
ILLUSTRATED

In this figure the inner spirals with their shaded lines and their numerous contacts indicate the activity and the fundamental nature of the influence of the primary groups. The outer spirals with less frequent contacts and less shaded lines indicate the less active and influential nature of the influences of the larger social groups of the intermediate and secondary type. Contacts grow less dominant in controlling personal ideals as the size of the circle or group represented increases.

horde, through the patriarchal family, the clan, the tribe, the federation, and the national State. Similar enlargements have been shown along religious, economic, and cultural lines. The plea for racial solidarity is now setting a new and broader goal for joint idealism and endeavor. International law, international scientific, literary, and cul-

tural associations, international athletic contests, international exchange of college professors and student fellowships, and international church federations are showing the possibilities of further expanding human consciousness and social organization. This enlarging process of civilization must have its counterpart in the expansion of individual consciousness and idealism, in fact, can only be realized in effective organizations through its prior concrete realization in the individual soul. The expansion of the individual soul through constantly enlarged group contacts may be graphically represented in the figure on page 53, while group expansion would be represented by a number of these separate figures in contactual relations with each other.

Evolution of a single ideal. To be specific, let us take the development of the personality or the range of consciousness through the evolution of a single ideal, such as, for example, the ideal of fair play. The average child first learns the idea of rightness in the family circle. Fair play toward parents or toward brothers and sisters is learned through example and precept, enforced, perhaps, by punishment in case of breach of right conduct. Then other playmates and relatives are included. The abstract virtue can be understood only as it is applied through personal relationships. As the play group expands to include larger numbers, the new acquaintances are taken into the accepted circle where fair play must be granted and exacted. But the essence of play is competition, and the idea of fairness to the opposing gang or team is a later growth enforced by umpires or referees, or the additional increment of power that accompanies the righteous in a human conflict. First the opposing teams in other schools or in the community will be accepted as deserving similar treatment to that accorded one's fellows. Later this will be

extended slowly to include more nearly all games under all circumstances.

As in the game fairness comes gradually to include larger and larger groups, so in social, economic, political, and other fields the virtue expands by slow degrees. From concrete applications to personal relations the idea of the abstract virtue is evolved. Yet in the child and youth, even as among older persons, fairness is applied under tried situations much more readily and universally than under new circumstances. This is shown when the boy will cheat in examinations and not in a game, or, *vice versa*, when the "bleacherite" will shout for the killing of the umpire when he would not ask for the injury of an opposing player; when the youth will steal a ride on the street-car or train or filch from any large corporation when he would not steal from the grocer or any particular individual. He learns to be fair in direct and personal relations before he learns to apply the same standards to impersonal relations. In other words, the idea of fairness is the outgrowth of virtuous social experience applied first through personal and then later through institutional channels, and finally worked into the mental and moral content of the soul.

Racial virtue. In a similar way the race has evolved the abstract virtue of fairness and honesty. The primitive struggle for life and progress was so intense that virtue had to be limited to the horde, the clan, the tribe, the nation, and the race in turn. Fairness within the clan or tribe required deceit, strategy, and destruction without. The head-hunter must destroy his enemy to protect himself and his kinsmen. Only by enslaving the captive was murder and cannibalism outside the group undermined. By finding that the labor of the slave was less valuable than that of a freeman, slavery was finally abolished. Each step

toward fairness, kindness, freedom, etc., was the outgrowth of competition on successively higher levels until a virtue found useful was elevated into an abstract principle. Nations, like individuals, also have specialized virtues in which they are superior to others because of their socialized experience in meeting situations calling for the application of those specific virtues.

Need of correlation in educational effort. The extent and fundamental nature of these group contacts in developing mental and moral responsiveness will scarcely be doubted. Open-mindedness, breadth of vision, adaptability, and celerity, as well as soundness of judgment, are inseparable from continuous association and communication. The more channels of influence the individual keeps open to the active forces of life, provided intimacy is not sacrificed, the more rapid will be his development. It is the variety and intensity and repetition, or assimilation, of psychic stimulus that educates. Consequently we must recognize that education is broader than mere scholastic training. The school is a specialized human institution for training the young. But it is not the only social organization with a training function. The church must educate religiously, business must educate vocationally, the arts must educate æsthetically, and general society must educate socially. No one of these educative forces can be definitely segregated from the others. None can be most effective when working in isolation. Some means of correlating the efforts of these various institutions whose activities have a definite educative mission for the young should be devised. No other study has the breadth of social view or the scientific basis for measuring comparative institutional values that sociology has; hence it is the function of educational sociology to estimate the relative importance of these group influences, and to point out means of corre-

lating them and uniting all educational agencies into a coöperatively unified system.

The school the basis of coördination. Since the school is fully specialized, that is, has no other mission than education, it must be the focalizing center of all educational efforts. The educative efforts of the church, the business world, the arts, and society should revolve around the school. Before this can be done the school must be made to realize more fully its social mission.

That the school has never been wholly conscious of its function as a socializing and correlating agent may be seen by a cursory glance into educational history. Every institution evolves out of social conditions, but in its efforts at differentiation it overspecializes and thereby isolates itself. By over-organization and self-aggrandizement the Church in the early Middle Ages lost contact with the real life of ordinary people. In the business world specialization is in constant danger of isolating a process or a product or a labor group from the regular channels of supply and demand, so that waste and maladjustment are inevitable. Social and fraternal organizations are apt, at a certain stage, to develop exclusiveness to an injurious extent. The whole problem of the high-school and college fraternity, so vexing to school administrators, is merely a question of helpful or harmful social differentiation. In like manner the school, when it became a separate institution, began to seclude itself. In recent centuries the schools have been opened to the masses, thus undermining the aristocratic exclusiveness that once existed; but the scholastic curriculum persisted under the new régime long after its adaptability to existing educational purposes had disappeared. Even to-day there is a decided effort in many institutions to cultivate an exclusive atmosphere as a part of the *esprit de corps* felt to be necessary to the best work. There is a wide-

spread attempt to enforce a school discipline and a school attitude which are so different from general social discipline and point of view as to render school training ineffective in the social situations later encountered. In other words, the school of the present is just now returning from its wanderings in the field of overspecialization along purely

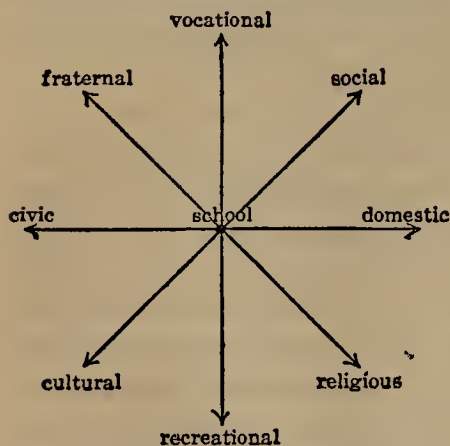


FIG. 2. CENTRAL POSITION OF THE SCHOOL

As the coordinating agent of education the school must establish means of intercourse that will give it some supervision over the educative contacts of the youth in each of the groups of activity indicated in the figure by the radiating lines.

tions which society fosters. This centralizing function of the school and its outreaching contacts may be illustrated in the accompanying figure.

Not only must the school see this correlating function, but other institutions must recognize it. This can be brought about only by keeping the work done and the spirit engendered in the schools in harmony with the need of society for men and women who are not merely individually efficient, but who also have a social and coöpera-

scholastic lines, and its consequent isolation, to a social attitude where its necessary contacts and interrelationships with other institutions are recognized and acted upon.

Reorganization needed.

It is the reorganized and redirected school that must lead in centralizing and correlating all the interests of the child into a systematized educational scheme. It must cultivate direct relations with the church, with industry, with the arts, and with the other institu-

tiye attitude toward the problems of life. For this only a fully socialized school is adequate. The means of bringing about socialization, and the necessary organic relations with other institutions, will be further elaborated in succeeding chapters dealing with the separate institutional groups.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. Illustrate the ways in which a cultivated citizen of the United States owes more to his associates than did his Indian predecessor.
2. May marriage and funeral customs be called organized phases of the public mind?
3. What are some of the leading taboos enforced by public feeling in your community?
4. Enumerate some of the doubtful practices denied to youth but allowed to elders in your town?
5. Is the isolated or the highly socialized type of individual the more suggestible? Illustrate.
6. Classify the institutions in your community.
7. Analyze and illustrate the growth of tolerance in the student during his college career.
8. Is loyalty more characteristic of savage or of civilized people? Show that freedom either increases or decreases with civilization.
9. Write a detailed description of the growth and expansion of the ideal of sympathy.
10. Compare the Anglo-Saxon and the Chinese, and show wherein each has developed certain superior race virtues.
11. Why should the school rather than the home be the coördinating center of youthful activities?
12. Show how business specialization isolates certain labor groups, and thereby sometimes causes economic waste and human hardship.
13. Point out the evil and the good sides of extreme loyalty and school spirit.
14. What institutional group of influences outside of school has done most for your education? Explain definitely.

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CHAPTER IV

THE PRIMARY SOCIAL GROUPS

1. THE FAMILY

Primary group influences. As indicated in the previous chapter, the approach to social education is through the primary social groups. In these groups education originated for the race and originates for each individual. In them personal contact reaches its maximum influence. These groups care for the child during his most impressionable age, and provide the contacts that begin his long series of social experiences. Suggestion, sympathetic radiation, and imitation find here a fallow field in which seeds sprout easily, grow luxuriantly, and produce abundant harvests. It has often been said that the larger part of our learning takes place before the close of the child's fifth year. If that be true the training in these primary groups, which is almost the only training the child receives before school age, is of transcendent importance. Certain it is that during these years personal influences are dominant, and every contact, either with nature or with other people, affords a new revelation. No true teacher can be indifferent to the training the child receives in the home, on the playground, or from the neighborhood environment before so large a share of his education is turned over to the school. Moreover, these forces act coincidentally with the school, and must therefore be taken into account as joint means of education during the period of school attendance. If the school is to act as the coördinating agent of the various educational forces, the mission of the teacher must be

conceived in broader social terms than are shown in contemporary practice.

The nature of the family. Probably on the whole the most important of these primary group units is the family. Whether or not it was the first unit to be recognized is of less moment than the fact that it must have always existed in some form, and that it will continue to exist in some form and play a vital part in human affairs. Many studies of the human family have been made in recent years, the most notable by Westermarck and Howard, although others, among whom are Spencer, Ward, Goodsell, Parsons, and Dealey, have contributed valuable material and discussions. All agree as to its universality and its germinal nature in physical, economic, and social life. Thus Dealey writes:—

Within the family of higher civilization should be in germ those potentialities that under favorable environment should blossom and ripen into work and play, love and patriotism, aspiration and reverence, so that each member of it may take his place in the economic, civic, and cultural life of his time. . . . The individual within the family, like the family itself, should center within his own soul the possibilities of the whole life. The family with its members should be in very truth an economic band, a body politic, a nursery for religious aspiration, a school for the broader life of the world, and a home of coöperative activity. In being so, it shows itself to be the real social unit, the germ of society, the fundamental social institution on the welfare of which depends the hope of social progress.¹

Early family impressions. Within the family the child gets his early impressions of life. These impressions are first general, and then differentiate into separate mental concepts; one set of impressions is formulated into self-consciousness, another into social consciousness. The relations of mother and child are the first and most elementary of all social relations, and form the germ plasm out of

¹ J. Q. Dealey, *The Family in its Sociological Aspects*, p. 9.

which ideas of self and what is not self evolve. The child begins to separate self from mother, then from father or brother or sister, while at the same time ideas of relationship, of dependence, of antagonism and sympathy, of resentment and love, spring into existence. The "I" and the "you" and the "we" feeling grow up together, a single identity with varied manifestations, the nature of these manifestations depending upon whether the impression is primarily one of self, or of self as separated from others, or of self in accord with others. By continued repetition these impulses become habitual, and the self-assertive and self-repressive qualities become fixed. Selfish instincts are counteracted by the development of the sentiments of sympathy, loyalty, fairness, and service to other members of the small family group with whom contact is frequent and continuous. The family thus becomes the starting-point in the development of the fundamental virtues.

Large importance of the family group. The intimacy of family life does not end its effectiveness with childhood. It is scarcely less important in the formative period of youth, and continues to exert its vital influence in later years. Marriage and the creation of new home ties revitalizes the unifying and socializing influence of family life through the oneness of parents and their mutual responsibilities for the children. The creation of the patriarchal family was a method of extending the virtues of the small family, by taking grandchildren and other relatives and dependents into an enlarged family circle. Clan life and tribal communism were efforts along the same line. The cultivation of associational contacts with families distantly related, in fact all emphasis upon blood relationship, has the same purpose and effect. Everywhere a higher standard of virtue is maintained within the family, however enlarged, than without. Incest is regarded as the worst form of adul-

tery, fratricide the worst form of murder, and so on. Race antagonism and race prejudice are merely exaggerated forms of love of kindred, and patriotism is not far removed from loyalty to blood relations.

It will readily be seen, therefore, why the family should be considered a primary unit in every phase of associated life. Also it is evident why it should be the point of departure for every kind of training — economic, social, educational, and religious. If training for coöperation is necessary in our highly organized twentieth-century civilization, it should be as scientific as possible, and later training should be based upon the early activities and mental qualities developed in the home. Home education and home associations, therefore, should assume an importance not usually accorded to them in educational treatises or in educational practice. For this reason it seems abundantly worth while to emphasize some of the newer conditions of family life, and to point out some of the essentials and some of the newer movements in connecting up the school with the home.

Changing conditions of the home. The basis of the new relations between the school and the home must be sought in the new environment of the home. In societies less highly organized than the Western civilization of the present the family was a more independent unit than it can be under existing conditions. Among savages and barbarians, before schools evolved, practically all education took place in the home. The boy and girl were taught by parents and elders whatever was necessary to enable them to meet the demands of life. Only a modicum of final training for war, religion, or social life was left for the clan or tribal group. Similar preparation for actual life was provided in the handicraft stage of early modern European civilization. The home was the center of work and play, of education in manual arts, and of social and traditional ideals.

With the Industrial Revolution and its transfer of home manufacture to the factory, numerous changes were inevitable. Cities were built, the wage system of industrialism took the place of independent handicrafts, the long educative apprenticeship to a trade disappeared. Peasant farming gave way to specialized farming. Tending a machine or herding a flock required little of the former varied and ingenious preparation. With the breaking-up of home industry came the disruption of family unity and parental supremacy over the child. As is usual in periods of rapid transition, many lines of degeneracy appeared. The "costs of progress" were shown in the city slum, the street gang, and the steady recurrence of waves of vice and crime in congested centers.

But this community chaos resulting from the undermining of family ties and responsibilities was not an un-mixed evil. If it created the serious problems of congestion, it likewise created the possibilities of organization. It formed the sanction and voiced the call for an organized educational system to take the place of the apprentice training of an earlier day. The monotonous grind of highly specialized toil and the social and political degradation of the industrialized masses led to the first visions of the need of a universalized free public school.

Old home training. Recent changes in the family life of this country have been scarcely less striking than those of the Industrial Revolution. A century ago only about four per cent of our people lived under city conditions, against over fifty per cent at present. The typical American family lived on the farm or in a small town. It was largely self-sustaining. President G. Stanley Hall has enumerated sixty trades, the elements of which were familiar to all. This knowledge was within the reach of children, and much of it was taught them in a practical way in the home. Yan-

kee ingenuity and inventiveness here got the start which enabled it to lead the world in material advancement. Likewise nature provided a healthy and stimulating environment. Children shared in their parents' work and pleasure, gained some knowledge of political and financial affairs, assumed some of the responsibility in caring for the live stock, managing crops, and making improvements, performed numerous burdensome but disciplinary chores, and in general prepared themselves for marrying, erecting new homes, and carrying on new enterprises of their own. This training in manual dexterity and ingenuity, personal and business independence, and social self-sufficiency far surpassed in educational value anything acquired in the district school.

Most of this sort of training has been lost in our city homes. Urban life is necessarily cramped and mechanical. "Nearness to nature, care of living things, contemplation, have ceased." The fierceness of competition, the overstimulus of intimate contact, the rush and bustle and noise of busy streets, lead to superficiality and strain. Family solidarity tends to disappear as the different members become bread-winners and scatter to different parts of the city for work, or to different social sets for amusement or culture. Home conditions compelled the abdication of former home educational functions.

Specific weaknesses of the present-day home. The loss from this breaking-up of home education may be summarized under four heads: physical ingenuity, mental continuity, moral steadiness, and vocational preparation. Each of these losses is occasioned by changes in society, and they must be met by organized society in some form if they are not to weaken our national integrity. They are being gingerly dealt with by the church and a variety of philanthropic agencies; but the burden must fall upon the public

school. The school is supported by the whole public for the good of the public, and since it is our only training institution with such a broad sanction and purpose, it becomes the residuary legatee of neglected obligations to the rising generation. Whatever may be the schoolman's theory or feelings, he must face actual conditions and assume joint responsibility with the home and the community for the total welfare of all children of school age.

Loss in physical ingenuity. Each of the above-mentioned losses can and must be made good to the child. The loss of the former training in physical ingenuity is evident. The average boy of to-day does not learn to use tools or weapons. He has little chance in the home to develop mechanical skill and dexterity. He is only an outside observer in building operations and machine shops, and gets little practice in adapting physical means to ends. The joy of making things, which embodied so much of the play of the boy on the farm, is denied him. No variegated chores or joint tasks, where the boy is helper to older men, call for the learning of small manual arts.

These natural means of physical education being no longer available, the home is almost helpless to cope with the situation. If tasks were devised it could only be with great effort, and their uselessness would make them uneducative drudgery. This danger also confronts and often palsies the efforts of the school. But the schools have a variety of resources not present in the homes. In the first place, they have numbers. They have competition and emulation and the possibilities of developing ambition. They can get proper equipment and expert leadership. With all these the school can develop manual training just as effectively as did the former home, and more artistically. Many schools are already doing it, and others will follow as better methods are devised and the demand becomes

more universal. Not only is there a possibility of restoring manual dexterity and mechanical inventiveness, but of directing it along higher channels as well. There is also the rich field of gymnastics, group play, and athletics. They are more spontaneous, more healthful, and more completely developmental than work. The muscular co-ordinations and the physical strength and skill required in up-to-date team games such as baseball, football, and basket-ball are greater than those required for existence on the frontier in the days of our grandfathers. So the school alone can secure the facilities, produce the environment and provide the knowledge necessary to develop the needed mechanical ingenuity and physical adaptiveness which the home can no longer supply.

Girls have lost equally with the boys along this line. The arts of housekeeping, cooking, and the care of children, which were taught by practice in the earlier home, are frequently not acquired in either our lower- or upper-class homes of the present. Oftentimes they are left to be learned by the method of trial and error after marriage. Much of our dissipation, vice, and domestic unhappiness is traced by social workers to poorly kept homes as a result of this lack of training. Consequently our schools are facing the problem and trying to restore these fundamental arts which are threatened with decadence. Domestic science and art are following manual training into all grades. First aid to the injured, physical training, and child culture are studies needed in every curriculum, and the same superiority that is shown in developing higher physical ingenuity among boys can be shown in producing more practical, more artistic, and more complete home-makers among girls. In both these cases, however, there should be worked out definite means of coördinating the school work with what remains of home training.

Loss in mental continuity. The second of these losses, that of mental continuity, is evident to every one who has dealt with both country and city children. The varied stimuli of city life lead to feverish haste among all who are susceptible to crowd excitement. Children are in special danger from this overstress. The city-bred child is likely to flit rapidly from one thing to another, thus destroying the continuity of thought and effort characteristic of the country-bred child. He has lost the calm of time-and-place perspective impressed upon his country cousin by broad fields and running brooks, the changing seasons, the gradual maturity of plants and animals, and the slow-moving procession of duties and pleasures. At the same time he has lost capacity for steady mental application, and something of skill in planning and adapting present means to distant ends.

If the excitements and strain of city life are not to produce superficiality and decadence in our youth, the school must aid the home in counteracting them. Some of the conditions of nature must be restored. Recognizing this, many of our schools are establishing gardens where the children may cultivate flowers and vegetables. Others are indulging in leisurely excursions or devising continuous tasks. The idea of crowding a curriculum with many studies, and rushing from one to another every few minutes, is giving way in theory, and later will give way in practice, to the coördinating of a number of studies about one central core.¹

¹ This was attempted with some success in the Dewey experimental school in Chicago. A single subject of study, such as cotton, was taken up, and the manual arts and mechanical processes of its growth, ginning, and spinning and weaving were studied and wherever possible practiced. Associated with it were the geography, history, language, and arithmetical studies which these materials and processes suggested. Similar work is being done in the training schools of the University of Missouri, Columbia University, various normal schools, the Francis Parker School, the Gary schools, and many others.

Along with this school work is the effort to aid the home. Many parents have felt the change in possibilities of home training without knowing how to go about remedying present weaknesses. Recognizing this the schools are encouraging home gardens, home manual work for boys, household duties for girls, and home or neighborhood supervision of play. When these two lines of effort are brought together and properly correlated, we need have little fear of the superficiality and restlessness with which the transition period has threatened so large a part of American youth.

Loss in moral steadiness. The third of the fundamental losses, that of moral steadiness, is being attacked in much the same way. Schoolmen are talking moral training as never before. Our public schools, in working over curricula devised by and for church and philanthropic schools, revolted against the religious cast of such instruction and have probably gone too far in neglecting it. At least it is generally felt that too little attention has been paid to moral development. Whatever may be done with reference to separate moral instruction of a didactic sort, it is certainly true that educators are considering more and more the moral outcome of their work. It is being realized that information has been emphasized at the expense of character, and much is being done to correct the warped vision that led to it. The moral make-up of childhood and youth, as distinguished from that of maturity, is being studied as never before. Child psychology and adolescent psychology, together with sociological studies of the group activities of children and gangs, are adding much to our knowledge of how to meet their moral weaknesses and wants. Many things are devised in our schools to stimulate the fundamental ideals of kindness, truthfulness, loyalty, toleration, and fair play. These are virtues of such enormous signi-

ficance to our public weal that they cannot be left wholly to the church, to philanthropy, or to the home. The school must connect itself definitely with these other agencies and assume its share of the burden. The many ways in which it is doing so will be treated in later chapters.

Loss in vocational training. The fourth of our losses from the change in home life is that of vocational training. Just now it is being more discussed in educational circles than any of the others. Germany has developed a scientific system of vocational education and, very largely as a result of it, has taken such a tremendous spurt in industrial advancement that other nations are being awakened to its value by the necessity of meeting her in the competitive field. Japan, England, the other Continental countries, and the United States are, each in its own way, attempting similar work. Skilled tradesmen, scarcely less than professional men, must be trained. The family or home is no longer able to give this training. Many industrial and transportation companies, such as the Sante Fé Railway, the Baldwin Locomotive Works, and the General Electric Company, have established service schools, but they are limited and need better educated apprentices as instructors. Privately endowed trade and technical schools and others maintained for business gain exist, but they are insufficient. Some public agency must assume the responsibility for vocational education, and the public schools are the only institutions fitted to cope with a problem of such magnitude and significance. Hence the newly awakened efforts which are revolutionizing the nature and work of our schools.

New demands upon the school. All of these changes in family and home life must be reckoned with in the schools. Family unity, which first shifted from a basis which was largely protective to one which was chiefly economic, is now shifting to one which is primarily spiritual. As society

became more complex and highly organized, many family functions were distributed among institutions established for the purpose of exercising them more effectively than the family could. Its religious function was transferred to the Church, its legal function to the Government, and its economic function of educating the young was transferred at a later date to the school, and upon it was placed the burden of preparing the youth for the higher phases of life. This does not signify that the family has abdicated all of its responsibilities along any of these lines, but rather that it trusts each of these institutions to assume the leadership and direction in its own special field. In executing its trust the school is reaching out into new fields, and is gradually assuming more and more responsibility over the entire education of youth. The teacher should be and will be in coming years as intimate an adviser of parents in home education as the minister is in religious training. Then and not until then can the losses consequent upon the shifting of former family responsibility upon the school be turned into indisputable gains, the gains that will enable the school to inculcate the old family virtues and ideals and extend them to continually enlarging social groups.

School and home coöperation. In order to accomplish this purpose mutual understanding and coöperation between the school and the home must be established. Some of the training functions formerly exercised in the family, but now neglected, can be restored to it by the sympathetic efforts of teachers. Parents are not less interested in their children or less willing to do for them than they were in the old days; they are merely at a loss to know what to do under the new circumstances, and, being absorbed in other affairs, they trust educational training too largely to the schools. Means need to be devised to educate parents in methods of supplementing and aiding school work. Simi-

larly teachers need to be trained to study the home environment of the pupils, and base their work upon what the child is and direct it with reference to what he is to become. This necessity has led to the establishment of parent-teacher associations, mother's clubs, visitors' days, athletic carnivals, music festivals, art exhibits, educational rallies, vocational advisers, visiting nurses, and numerous other means of bringing together parents and teachers, or parent, teachers, and children. Parents need the broader viewpoint of child psychology and sociology which the teachers should be able to provide. Teachers need the intense interest and special insight into the nature of the particular child which only the parent can give. Each can thus clarify the understanding of the other.

School credit for home work. But mutual intelligence has not been found sufficient. Joint undertakings and coöperative efforts are being fostered. A number of schools have recognized the educational value of home work, and are giving some school credit for it. Parents are asked to grade their children on home conduct for the benefit of the teacher, just as the teacher sends home a report card for the benefit of the parents. It is becoming evident that just in the proportion that teachers recognize the home necessities of the child will the parent willingly recognize and provide for his school necessities. Parents are feeling a new responsibility for restoring home opportunities as they are made to realize that book education cannot take their place; and likewise, the teacher is minimizing mere book instruction as he realizes how little it functions in the larger life of the pupil, and is coming back toward the more natural and useful type of training in the earlier home. These two converging tendencies must unite to remove the present hiatus between the school and the home, and to form a continuous and consistent system of child training.

The school and home-making. The delegation of former family functions to other institutions in our highly complex society does not necessarily mean that the home is disintegrating. Nor does the democratization of family government, which is so evident in our day, mean a loss of family control. Probably in no other nation is the family in less danger of disruption than in the United States, where divorce is most prevalent and family bonds are most voluntary. But placing the family ties upon a voluntary spiritual basis does require that society guard itself against the non-social and anti-social elements by special training for the duties of parenthood and home-making. This is especially true for women, upon whom are placed the chief responsibilities for making and preserving home life, although it should not be neglected in the training of men. The growth of domestic science and art as school studies is a testimonial to the fact that society is becoming aware of this fact. These studies are new, however, are often not well taught, and so far have not won sufficient respect in academic circles. They should be made the central core of feminine education, and will be made so as the schools are more fully socialized. More detailed treatment of this subject will be given in later chapters, but it should be noted here that any consideration of the importance of the family as a social factor, and of the growing democratic and voluntary nature of family relations, will show the need of giving adequate attention to home training in the schools.¹

¹ Professor Paul H. Hanus sums up the relations of the school and the home as follows: —

“The school cannot be wholly responsible for the education of our children. The individual home and the community are jointly responsible with the school for the education of every child.

“Nevertheless, the school must carry the largest share of this responsibility, because it is the institution which society charges with the sole func-

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. What are the important things the child learns before the age of five years?
 2. What are some of the things that a teacher might do to aid mothers with very young children?
 3. Show the relation between love of kindred and patriotism.
 4. What are the things country boys and girls learn in your neighborhood that city children do not? Are they educational? If so, why? Do city children have advantages not found in the country? What?
 5. Why must the school assume responsibility for remedying the failures of the home in dealing with children's needs?
 6. What are the cultural and practical values of school gardens? To what extent do they exist in your community?
 7. What subjective value can the teacher get from the parent-teacher association? What are its objective values?
 8. What are the values to be obtained by the teacher when parents grade their children on home work and conduct? What are the values to the parents?
 9. Ought children to be given school credit for home work done under educational conditions? What sort of home labor is given credit where the system is in force?
 10. Discuss Professor Ellwood's statement: "The ideal of human brotherhood has no meaning unless family affection gives it meaning."
 11. Give a history of the Roman family. (See C. A. Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, chap. vi.)
 12. Explain specifically why domestic economy in the schools will elevate the standard of living in the homes.
 13. What would you consider the greatest weaknesses in present-day teaching of domestic science and art?
 14. What could boys be taught in the schools that would improve home life?
 15. Enumerate and explain the different subjects that should form the central core of domestic training in the elementary and high-school grades.
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tion of education, while the home and other institutions of society have many other functions. It is, therefore, the business of the school to cast the more or less vague desires of the community respecting education into definite aims, and to find, to organize, and to administer the means, through which these aims are to be achieved.

"But, in order that the school may really fulfill the function for which it is established, it must have the coöperation of the individual home and of the community." (*A Modern School*, pp. 149, 150.)

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CHAPTER V

THE PRIMARY SOCIAL GROUPS

2. THE PLAY GROUP

THE second of the primary social groups is the playground group. This group is as universal, and is little if any less important, than that of the family. It is found in all stages of society alike — savage, barbarian, and civilized — all playing as industriously as they work. Nor is it confined to childhood and youth. The gaming and recreational group is found among all ages, although most influential among the younger and less responsible members of society. Children begin playing at a very tender age, and take it very seriously. It forms the real occupation of childhood and youth, and becomes secondary only when the individual assumes more of the work responsibilities of life. Parents, teachers, and reformers are everywhere beginning to take play more seriously, and to attempt to use it judiciously in training the young and in increasing the efficiency of the mature.

Public attitude toward play. There are three attitudes toward play which have led to varied treatment of it among different classes of people and at different times. The first one is that of repression, based upon the feeling that it is dangerous — an unavoidable evil which should be curbed as far as possible. This is the puritanic and stoical idea. It is wholly negative, seeking to crush spontaneous and instinctive activities as inspired of evil, a counterpart of the theological dogma of original sin and the total depravity of the natural man. Our present hap-

pier and more sincere age has discarded it in theory, but it occasionally dominates in our family, school, or civil government.

The second attitude is that of indifference. It is based upon the feeling that play is natural and harmless, but useless, and that therefore the child does not need training for it. This attitude has been the prevailing one among most historical peoples, and still dominates the action of a large portion of the public.

The third attitude is that play should be encouraged and regulated and directed toward useful ends. It is based upon the feeling that play is fundamental, and that it is necessary to proper development and complete living. People holding this position have based their attitude upon several different theories.

Theories as to play. The first one may be called the "surplus-energy theory." It was originally advanced by the poet Schiller, and elaborated scientifically by Herbert Spencer. According to this theory the higher animals and man, by virtue of highly developed and specialized organisms, are able to use only a part of their full capacity in any one line of activity. The unused organs store up surplus energy which, not being used in the major occupation, naturally discharges itself in other activities, or play. These other activities, being spontaneously directed by the super-energized organs along new motor and psychic lines, permit and even stimulate the recuperation of the previously exhausted faculty. The apparently exhaustless energy of youth is largely the result of this spontaneous change from one play occupation to another, as new vitality is accumulated. We hear echoes of this theory every day when people speak of children, or students, or even older persons, as working off their surplus energy in play or rowdyism.

The second theory was developed by Professor Carl Groos in his *Play of Animals*, and *Play of Man*. It has been called by Professor Baldwin, not inappropriately, the "Practice Theory." According to Groos, play is the result of an instinctive or hereditary impulse to prepare for life's demands by practicing certain special functions before they are required. The kitten pounces upon the rolling ball or leaf apparently for amusement, but she is really training herself to catch mice. Puppies romp and chase each other and make-believe bite as sport, but they are really being educated to attack and defend. It is pointed out that the animal which plays most and best is the one that develops the needed strength and adaptation to the highest point. Likewise the play of children seems to be naturally directed along the lines where development is most needed in later years. The girl's doll and playhouse are direct preparations for the duties of housekeeping and motherhood. The boy's hide-and-seek, free-and-easy scuffling, team games, and gang organizations are the physical and mental counterparts of his later industrial and business struggle. In fact, Groos points out, as the biological significance of play, that "perhaps the very existence of youth is due in part to the necessity of play; the animal does not play because he is young, he has a period of youth because he must play."

A third theory is that of President G. Stanley Hall. It forms a part of his recapitulation theory, and holds that the child at play is merely rehearsing the activities of the race in the past. In doing so he gains a highly valuable type of education "by practicing powers of mind and body which, in our highly specialized civilization, would never otherwise have a chance to develop."

A fourth view of play is seen in the "recreation theory." According to this theory play is a natural reaction from

the seriousness and intensity of life, a loosening of "the tightened strings" of the human instrument. A similar view is that of Professor Lazarus, who holds that the human being has a natural aversion to idleness, hence the unoccupied mind seeks a sham vocation in play.

All of these theories are based upon special phases of the play instinct, and embody at least a partial truth. They agree upon one essential, that play is serious and educational and that it must be reckoned with in the home, in the school, and in the community at large.

The physical value of play. It was pointed out in introducing the primary groups that they are the nurseries of human nature. In discussing the family it was shown that the elementary virtues get their start in the home. We are now ready to see how these virtues are extended on the playground; and, since they have both an individual and social aspect, it may clarify matters to discuss them separately.

The individual values of play are chiefly physical and intellectual. In regard to the first there is little question. Proper play exercises and expands every part of the body, and strengthens and perfects every organic function. Watch the child at play if you would see the variety of his motions, the full taxing of his organic powers, the unflagging effort to gain physical control. See how awkwardly he begins a new game, the lack of coördination in his efforts, and watch how he improves. His clumsy, unsuccessful movements and waste of energy give place as his skill increases to accuracy, coördination, and grace. Watch a boy learn to throw a ball, to swim, to whistle, to dodge a runner, or a girl learn to sew, or sweep, or tidy-up a playhouse, if you would realize how slowly and painfully the ordinary activities of life are acquired. When the mechanic and the housekeeper and the professional man begin their life-work

they have already had years of practice in the sort of physical requirements they need. If Waterloo, as Wellington insisted, was won on the cricket fields of England, it may be said with more truth that the artistic home has its counterpart in the make-believe of childhood, and professional skill its forerunner on the playground. Where did the surgeon get his delicate touch, the mechanic his steady nerve, the platform orator his grace, but on the playground where every muscle and nerve and organ learned to work in harmony together?

The intellectual value of play. The intellectual value of play is even more striking and important. Sports of children, and of their elders as well, quicken the senses and sharpen the wits. Quick perception, rapid judgment, and prompt decision are elements of almost every game. Adaptation of means to an end, the circumvention of an opponent, the invention of new methods of play and new games, stimulate the reason. Imitation and imagination, vivacity and responsiveness, and mental resilience are likewise cultivated. Every type of intellectual activity is called into play and exercised with the freedom and intensity that develops capacity and control — that really educates. When a game is perfected, or, in other words, when development ceases, the player loses interest and casts it aside for a more intricate and difficult one. There was formerly an idea prevalent that great men were generally physically inactive or sickly in youth, but that theory has been exploded. Professor Yoder found, by a minute examination of the lives of fifty eminent men, mostly of the nineteenth century, that every one of them was fond of play in his boyhood, and many of them were leaders in outdoor or indoor sports.

The social value of play. The humanizing value of play, however, is shown most directly and forcibly along social

and moral lines. It was shown in the previous chapter how the germ of the social nature — the “we” and the “you” consciousness — was developed in the home along with the unfolding of self-consciousness. It is in the play group, however, that the social consciousness gets its most virile stimulus and expands most rapidly. If the child must play alone he creates playmates out of his toys, and frequently carries on conversations with imaginary companions. As he gets older the complexities of the game are demanded. Here it is that the socializing and moralizing values of play are predominant. The youth learns in his games to meet competition, to surmount obstacles, to face opposition. He learns to take hard knocks, to accept defeat, to control his temper, to respect his opponents. Nowhere else in life is there such varied, intense, and continuous cultivation of will-power and self-control as in games. Compare the attitude of the boy at work and at play. In the one he generally fences, dawdles, and shifts the burden; in the other he puts forth every ounce of strength time and time again, endures pain if need be, — indeed, must, under penalty of the jeers of his fellows if he lacks will-power and concentration within himself. Persistence and disappointment and pain are the costs of success. The same is true in later years when the athlete will quit smoking; give up dissipation, late hours, and table luxuries; and practice, with bruised muscles and sometimes broken bones, to make his high-school or college team.

Play develops fairness and loyalty. Not only does play cultivate will-power and self-control in contact with others, but it develops the spirit of fairness and loyalty and chivalry. Miss Buck has pointed out that the most elementary form of equity is “taking turns” at play. There must be a fair distribution of favors and privileges to make the game worth while. It takes rules and regulations to adapt the

game to the equipment in bats, balls, size of grounds, number of contestants, etc. These rules or laws must be fairly enforced to prevent the game breaking up in a row, which would spoil the fun. Not the least valuable part of this necessary fairness is that the regulations are generally self-made and self-enforced. Boy justice is savage in its directness. He who will not play fair may not play at all. Whoso will not chase flies may not bat. The boy who persistently refuses to await his turn on the springboard gets a ducking not soon to be forgotten. Many of us have seen the boy who sulked on the side lines sink by the wayside of life, merely because he had not developed social restraints in youth. The boy who goes through this playground discipline and will still cheat in a game will cheat in examinations, and in later years rob a customer, default in a bank, or wreck a railroad.

Loyalty and chivalry are likewise enforced. Professor Cooley says, "The ideal of moral unity I take to be the mother, as it were, of all social ideals." This ideal of moral wholeness, while perhaps started in the family, is nowhere more forcibly impressed than in the team game and at an age when children need it most.

In the team game the boy is deeply participating in a common purpose. The team and the plays that it executes are present in a very vivid manner to his consciousness. His conscious individuality is more thoroughly lost in the sense of membership than perhaps it ever becomes in any other way.

Along with the sense of the team as a mechanical instrument, and unseparated from it in the boy's mind, is the consciousness of it as the embodiment of a common purpose. There is in team play a very intimate experience of the ways in which such a purpose is built up and made effective. You feel, to the marrow of your bones, how each loyal member contributes to the salvation of all the others by holding the conception of the whole play so firmly in his mind as to enable them to hold it, and to participate in his single-handed determination to see it carried out. You have intimate experience

of the ways in which individual members contribute to the team, and of how the team, in turn, builds up their spiritual nature.

And the team is not only an extension of the player's consciousness; it is a part of his personality. His participation has deepened from coöperation to membership. Not only is he now a part of the team, but the team is a part of him.¹

Team consciousness. Team consciousness thus built up transforms apparent self-sacrifice into self-fulfillment. The sacrifice hit on the baseball diamond — and Judge Brown, of the Juvenile Court of Salt Lake City, says he never despairs of a boy who can be persuaded to make a sacrifice hit — becomes the right and natural act of loyalty, not only to the team but to self. To this habit of coöperation in team games at a plastic period of life may be largely attributed the facility of Americans and the English in coöperative enterprises. They alone of the civilized nations are able to work successfully a party system of government. Germany, France, Italy, and Austria-Hungary fail because their citizens are trained as individuals, and cannot act *en masse* without dictation. Even the English, whose team games are confined largely to the middle and upper classes, are unable to work a system of parliamentary law which among our more democratic populace has become habitual. Decade by decade, as our society becomes more complex and coöperative enterprises become more universal, team play becomes more necessary and should be made a more dominant feature of training during youth.

The gang. A phase of the play group similar in importance to the team game is that of the "boy gang." This is a group more or less definitely organized for general associational purposes. In a delightful and penetrating little volume, recently published, the activities of the gang are outlined as follows: —

¹ Joseph Lee, in *Charities and Commons*, August 3, 1907.

To play games, to seek adventure, to go swimming, boating, and playing Indians in the woods, to make mischief, to steal, to fight other gangs. Few are the groups which do not, at one time or another do all these things. Especially noteworthy is the desire of the gang for a local habitation — its own street corner, its club-room, its shanty in the woods.¹

The typical gang age is ten to sixteen. During this period the instinct for group association stirs every boy's heart, and Sheldon maintains that three out of four boys belong to a gang. Its formative influence will appear when it is recalled that only a small minority of men belong to any church, and only one out of five to a fraternity, and that the all but universal boys' gang is effective during a highly impressionable age. In showing its socializing value, Puffer further states that the gang is

no mere haphazard association. Accidents of various kinds — age, propinquity, likeness of interests — bring together a somewhat random group. Immediately the boys react on one another. One or more leaders come to the fore. The gang organizes itself, finds or makes its meeting place, establishes its standards, begins to do things. It develops, in some sort, a collective mind, and acts as a unit to carry out complex schemes and activities which would hardly so much as enter the head of one boy alone. The gang is, in short, a little social organism, coherent, definite, efficient, with a life of its own which is beyond the sum of the lives of its several members. It is the earliest manifestation of that strange group-forming instinct, without which beehive and ant hill and human society would be alike impossible.²

The gang spirit. The ordinary gang consists of about five to fifteen boys. They frequently belong to different races, and their fellowship aids materially in assimilating foreigners. Some are organized with a full set of officers and a code of regulations. Loyalty is the moral cornerstone of all, and "squealing" the unpardonable sin. Cour-

¹ J. Adams Puffer, *The Boy and his Gang*, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

age and fair play and unselfishness within the gang follow close after loyalty as fundamental virtues. Boys of all classes join gangs. Those made up of boys from good homes are more ephemeral and less closely organized than those made up of boys from broken or poorly envired homes. "The good gang dies young." The tough gang is long-lived, taking in new members as the old ones drop out, and is the cause of much delinquency. The conspicuousness of the slum and lawless gang leads to general misunderstanding of it, and a failure either to control it or to use it in advantageous ways. Its virtues and possibilities have been discovered and exploited most fully, however, by Mr. William R. George, of New York and Judge Ben Lindsey, of Denver, in their work with boys. It may be said without exaggeration that the success of our juvenile courts everywhere depends upon a proper understanding and use of the gang spirit, and likewise that much of our home and school discipline could be improved by a judicious use of it in ingenious ways.

Play and work. One other phase of the play spirit — that is, its relation to work among older people — calls for analysis. Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie has divided effort into three grades, toil, work, play. As work is only a higher kind of toil, so play is only a higher kind of work — work reduced to an art. "It is doubtful," says George E. Johnson, "if a great man ever accomplished his life-work without having reached a play interest in it." Toil involves drudgery, is merely mechanical and perfunctory, and is characteristic of the labor of slaves. He who toils is a slave to something outside of himself, the necessities of life it may be, some phase of environment certainly. Work is free, conscientious effort to accomplish something considered worth while. It involves discipline, self-sacrifice, subordination of lower to higher pleasures, is exhaustive in

its demands; but it provides satisfaction, a consciousness of duty done, and furnishes a basis for advancement.

Play, however, is something beyond. It is of a higher type, spontaneous, unconscious, joyous. When the toiler becomes a workman he is free. When the workman becomes an artist he plays. The pain of effort and the strain of accomplishment are gone. Labor is no longer a means to an end but the end itself. It embodies its own justification, its own satisfaction, its own reward. To banish toil in favor of work, and to make work so artistic that it will partake of the nature of play, are achievements awaiting a higher civilization than our own; yet it is a dream goal to be drawn nearer by our universal education, and nothing will aid more in approaching it than keeping the play spirit of youth alive as long and extending it as widely as possible.

Play among older people. After passing middle life, when development becomes a secondary end, play generally takes on the nature of recreation; that is, re-creation. It changes its nature, however, only by becoming less physical. It is still serious. Half-hearted play does not develop the boy nor rest the man. The *sine qua non* of real recreation is absorption in some new line of thought or action or rest. Even sleep that is not complete does not fully recreate. For the mature, art, literature, music, the drama, and sociability quite largely take the place of games, but can never wholly supersede them. It is just as necessary for Roosevelt to hunt and to play tennis, Cleveland to fish, Taft to play golf, and Gladstone to swing his axe, if they wish to preserve mental equilibrium and moral backbone, face opposition, conquer insult, and meet new emergencies with zest and clear-visioned action, as it is for their children to skip and scuffle and play ball. In the present condition of society the struggle for existence and advancement means

that all of us will have some toil, a great deal of work, and only a limited amount of finished artistic accomplishment. Consequently there is abundant need of breaks from our accustomed effort, avocations to fill up the void of depression as a result of the strain in our vocations, and these avocations must bear a complementary relation to the exhausted qualities in order to be fully restorative.

The conclusion for education from this analysis is that we must have training for avocations no less than for vocations. If we expect the workman to react properly from his toil, we must train him to enjoy sensible avocations. If the business or professional man is to continue his culture after entering upon his life-work, he must be given cultural avocations in his youth. If we do not wish the youth to play with his feelings and lower nature, we must train him to play with his sentiments and higher nature. So our schools must not only take seriously the playground work, but they must embody in their regular curricula possibilities of educating the taste in music, art, the drama, literature, conversation, and social form.

Education and the play group. Since, biologically, youth exists for play, pedagogically and morally play must exist for youth. It is one of the functions of parents and educators, of philanthropists and statesmen, to see that play opportunities are provided for all children. The home without play stimulus is barren and unattractive. The school without playgrounds and play supervision is incomplete. The community failing to provide adequately for the control of the play impulse must pay dearly for its abuse through the channels of delinquency.

Next to the home the school owes the child the largest bounty in the way of play. As pointed out in the previous chapter, many of our homes, especially in the congested centers of our cities, have not the ability to provide proper

play for children. It then becomes the special duty of the public school, the normal public guardian of our youth, adequately to provide for and guide the play impulse. Nor is it merely a duty; it is an opportunity. No greater aid in discipline and no more virile stimulus to educational effort than well-directed play has yet been found. The traditional recess period was a negative recognition of that fact. But the old recess was based educationally on the surplus-energy theory which led naturally to a do-nothing policy on the part of teachers.

Merely letting children play, however, is insufficient. They need direction, and, if the play is to be made a regular part of the educational program and an efficient ally of other school work, it must have supervision. This supervision need not necessarily be just like that in the classroom, but it should be not less carefully planned. Any sort of supervision that is not wholly sympathetic, or that would crush spontaneity or self-direction or be thought meddling, would be injurious and defeat the very purpose of all oversight.

Essential features of good playground work. Proper recognition of the play interests of children requires at least four essential features. The first is reasonable equipment for pure play purposes. This subject has been treated amply and specifically by Curtis ¹ and others, but a few general facts need to be pointed out in this connection. The equipment should consist primarily in plenty of space for varied games. Every school building should have adequate playgrounds about it. In cities a whole block is little enough, and in the country one or two acres should be the minimum. These grounds should be well graded and cared for. They should be open as many hours in the day as possible and practically every day in the year, not exclud-

¹ Henry S. Curtis, *Education through Play*.

ing week-ends, holidays, and vacations. They should also have a moderate amount of equipment, such as giant strides, ball-grounds, — with basket-balls, some sort of footballs, baseballs or soft balls and bats — and places for running-games, jumping, top-spinning, etc. Much of the movable equipment may profitably be supplied by the children themselves, and the stationary apparatus may be made by the manual-training classes.

The second essential is play directors. These directors or supervisors need to be as well trained for their work as teachers of mathematics, geography, or grammar. They must be skilled in games, possess a love for them, understand children, and have organizing ability. In fact, the play supervisor, like the teacher of other new subjects without a fund of prepared teaching matter and fixed teaching traditions, requires more training for his work than the ordinary teacher. He must know what may be accomplished, have a definite purpose in his leadership, and take his work seriously.

The third essential is a coördination of the play work with other school work. Play ought to clarify the mind and stimulate general effort in other school interests. The boy or girl who has played hard and stopped short of exhaustion ought to be and is ready for some other employment. It is a general observation among teachers that the hard-playing child is also a hard-studying child, when interested. What teacher does not recognize the difficulty of getting good work from children when for some reason, such as bad weather, they are deprived of their accustomed play? It is particularly noticeable in discipline, but scarcely less so in the solving of problems in arithmetic or gaining an insight into history or an interest in literature. Moreover, we are learning the value of the play spirit in dealing with the various studies. If geography or language or hygiene

can be made to take on the serious aspect of play by being made real to the child, then he is ready to work at it as hard as he does at his play. All kindergarten work is based upon the play spirit, the primary grades are approaching it, and the upper grades are slowly learning the needed lesson. When this process of transforming toil into work and work into play is more complete, school mortality will cease to be the Damoclean sword suspended above the head of every teacher above the third grade.

School, home, and street play. The fourth essential is a coördination of school play with home and street play. What the boy or girl does after leaving the school ground is as vital a concern of the teacher as the outside life of a workman is to the factory superintendent, or the avocations of a bank clerk to the management of the institution. Just as large business concerns are spending money freely to build up the private lives of their employees, for the sake of securing efficiency during work hours and steadiness of the labor supply, so the schools must make larger efforts to see that children are properly looked after between sessions, in the home or on other playgrounds, if they are to guarantee efficiency during school hours and steadiness of attendance during the school age. The boy who belongs to a tough gang to which he owes allegiance, and to which he pays devotion until late at night, is unfit for educational effort during the day and is a menace to his school fellows. The girl who is overworked at home, or overstimulated with moving-picture shows, or overexercised with social functions, is a demoralizing force in the classroom. Teachers must cultivate family coöperation, church and philanthropic sympathies, and join in providing and controlling neighborhood amusements and recreations.

Moreover, school plays and amusements must not be too far removed from the types the children are accustomed

to outside of school. Just as language training to be effective must be based, not upon some near-perfect standard, but upon that of the children in their native environment, so plays must be adapted to the children playing, and the play expedients used to stimulate other effort must be based upon the kind of games children have learned to love in the home or on the street. In the higher grades the gang spirit should be utilized by organizing groups under the type of boy leader who is chosen by the natural methods used among boys outside of school. Games should be carried on with these leaders followed by their gang-like groups, and held together by gang virtues and stimulated by the intensity of gang rivalry. In this case the supervisor should allow as much democratic control as possible, serving merely as an umpire or referee, insisting only on fair play and decent conduct and preventing riotous fights. No more hopeful effort is being anywhere made to break up tough gangs than that of the wisely directed school ground.

The Boy Scouts movement. A similar effort should be made to encourage such movements as that of the Boy Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls. Of the Boy Scout movement Puffer says: —

Of all present-day organizations for the improvement and happiness of normal boyhood, the institution of the Boy Scout is built at once on the soundest psychology and the shrewdest insight into boy nature. The Scout Patrol is simply a boy's gang, systematized, overseen, affiliated with other like bodies, made efficient and interesting as boys alone could never make it, and yet everywhere, from top to bottom, essentially a gang. Other organizations have adopted gang features, others have built themselves around various gang elements. The Boy Scout Patrol alone is the gang.¹

Every successful organization of the voluntary sort which bisects and cross-sections the gang of the lower type and uses the same virtues of loyalty, coöperation, obedi-

¹ J. Adams Puffer, *The Boy and his Gang*, p. 157.

ence, honor, and fellowship for higher purposes, is just that much education into pure democracy. Nothing will undermine delinquency quicker than to substitute play of the better sort for play of the criminal variety, and make it more interesting and developmental. It is coming to be a truism that people, particularly young people, are not willfully bad so much as poorly led and clumsy in securing happiness without lawlessness; and it follows that the school must do its part to provide lawful recreation to take the place of unlawful and anti-social amusements.

Charitable and public playgrounds. Churches and municipal officers are also awaking to the play problem, and the schools should cultivate fellowship with them. Social centers in the churches, municipal playgrounds, and philanthropic establishments should be recognized by the schools, and lines of coöperation established. All the agencies that can combine to provide play facilities, to elevate taste in amusements and recreations, and to develop a variety of avocations for all will not be too many; and an understanding of the important function of play in creating ideals, developing character, and increasing human efficiency should inspire every effort.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. Make a study of the play of some of the American Indian tribes, or of some other barbarian tribe. To what extent was it educative?
2. Trace the development of play through English history. (See Traill's *Social England*.)
3. Which theory of play dominates in your home community? Which one seems to dominate in your school?
4. What skills and qualities of mind can you trace to play in your own life?
5. What are the specific comparative merits of the various games prevalent in your school?
6. Trace the genesis of the popular attitude toward children telling on each other. To what extent should they be required to testify against each other in case of misconduct?

7. Observe the difference in the discipline found on the athletic field and in the classroom. What makes this difference?
8. To what extent is the gang spirit visible in your school? Trace its survival in politics, the church, and in social life.
9. Do you agree with H. W. Mabie that artistic work is not distinguishable from play? What work do you do that partakes of the nature of play?
10. Trace the history of the Boy Scout movement. What do "Camp Fire" girls do, and is the Camp Fire movement needed as badly as the Boy Scout movement?
11. To what extent will one hour of physical play each day improve your ability as a student? Would it actually take time from the amount of studying you would do each week?
12. What are some of the expedients you would use as play director to preserve spontaneity and pupil leadership while at the same time directing the play?
13. How extensively is supervised play carried on in the schools of your State? How many schools have full-time play supervisors?
14. How would you go about getting playground apparatus in a school where there was none?
15. To what extent is the reading of poetry, fiction, and the newspaper play? Is attending a musical concert play? A social function?
16. Can you name pupils that have been kept in school until graduation by the opportunities for play the schools offered? Is that a justifiable appeal for the schools to make?
17. Which is the better — municipal playgrounds under a Playground Commission, or playgrounds connected with and managed by the schools? Why?

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CHAPTER VI

THE PRIMARY SOCIAL GROUPS

3. THE COMMUNITY

The community group. The third of the primary groups to be treated is the neighborhood, or community group. This group is no less original, primary, and universal than the family and play groups. So far as ethnology and archæology can determine, it existed at the dawn of human society, and there is no evidence to indicate that it will not continue to exist to the end of the human struggle. It has changed its nature with the increase of the facilities of communication and intimate contact, and will continue to change as these facilities multiply; but as long as the spoken word carries more dynamic conviction than the written word, and personal influence is more effective than institutional principles, it will not lose its power in forming human ideals. The crowded conditions of life in our cities have undermined to a large extent the force of mere propinquity, just as the telegraph and telephone and aircraft have undermined time relations in our neighborly contacts; but if the families in the adjoining apartments have ceased to be our necessary neighbors, that simple fact does not prove that we do not have neighbors and friends who influence us just as vitally as did the neighbors and friends of our ancestors influence them in the circumscribed limits of their face-to-face contact in more primitive days. We have done so much to annihilate time and space in modern times that our conception of the term "neighbor" has enlarged. We can communicate directly and immediately with

so large a group of people that we can pick and choose. Our neighbor may live across the city with four million people between, or we may go to the telephone and be thrilled with the voice of a friend across the continent; nevertheless, our neighbors and friends are still limited in numbers, and dominate our lives to a very great extent.

1. Evolution of the community group. The crudest form of neighborhood organization recognized by the sociologist is the horde. It is an irregular temporary aggregation of human beings, only slightly more conscious and deliberate than the herd or flock of animals. "The wandering hordes of Blackfellows in Australia, of Bushmen in Africa, of Fuegians at the extremity of South America, and of Arctic Highlanders in Greenland are small and unstable, but they are none the less groups, composed each of several families." ¹ Each of these hordes has its face-to-face association, its methods of communication, its concerted movements based upon a rude consensus of feeling and opinion, and its repeated actions settling into fixed customs.

2. The next stage of community organization is that of the clan and the tribe. These two forms of organization are not always distinguishable. When they are, the clan is generally a part of the tribe; that is, forms the local community as distinguished from the general community or tribe. This distinction is the first definite demarkation between the central and local in social organization, particularly in government. The next stage beyond the tribe is 3. the Confederation, or loosely federated State. This is followed by the centralized national State of higher civiliza-
4. tion.

Importance of the small group. With the development of these higher forms of association the local unit still remains. It is this persistence of the face-to-face groups, and

¹ F. H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 81.

extension of the clan spirit, which led De Tocqueville to declare that "the commune seems to come directly from the hand of God." The habits of discussion, mutual aid, and free coöperation of the German and Anglo-Saxon village commune formed the basis for the development of the constitutional government of later days. It still continues to be a vital part of the life of Germanic nations, and even more, in Russia, is the self-governing *mir* a dominant force among fifty millions of peasants. The New England town meeting left its indelible mark upon American institutions. Some of the smaller Swiss cantons maintain in active force the clan assembly which forms the largest democratic governmental group in existence to-day. It is agreed by political scientists that without local centers of free discussions and political organization, party government and democratic control on a large scale are impossible. Indeed, our whole present political polity depends upon a continuation of the community spirit, working through centralizing organizations binding the centrifugal local units to the centripetal forces of national life.

The influence of the community, however, is not confined to the political field. It is just as important in determining the economic, social, religious, and educational status of a people. Economic methods, habits, and ideas are generated and spread by friendly visitation, local observation, and group discussion. Local crops, local prices, and local machinery are often preserved by local prejudice long after they have been proved uneconomic and wasteful. For this reason government experimenters and economic reformers are working up counteracting local associations for introducing new crops, for facilitating the marketing of products, or for the development of coöperative enterprises. Denmark has shown remarkable facility for socialized agriculture by perfecting these local centers, and has set

a fine example of efficient economic organization in rural communities. Our large manufacturing concerns maintain local publicity and distributing agencies. Much of economic progress everywhere depends upon the maintenance of vitality in the community group.

Social strength of the group. Socially the community group has always been important. It is in the small neighborhood associations that the ideals started in the home and on the playground broaden out to include an ever-widening public. Local manners, local celebrations, local customs, and local institutions continue to hold their sway over the individual, even in the most complex society. The persistence of dialect in language and of local types in literature are well-recognized features among all peoples. Folklore is a perennial literary laboratory, and seems to be increasing in interest as a basis for imaginative literature. Modes of dress and address, types of art and music and architecture, and conventionalities in religious worship are characteristics of the community life, even in highly complex city societies.

All of these local peculiarities make for conservatism and continuity of culture. Local prejudices form one of the most difficult things to deal with in the adoption of new improvements and progressive ideas, but, at the same time, they constitute a guarantee against hasty and ill-advised change. Our difficulties in dealing with local feeling are probably due to a failure to understand its importance and a lack of knowledge of how to deal with it under changing conditions, which result in an effort to override and destroy it, rather than to any inherent evil in it or to the supposed fact that it is a persistence of a decadent type of organization. As we learn to appeal to it wisely and to use it intelligently in our rapid pace toward higher things, we shall find it a most efficient ally of progress along all lines. Dis-

organization is an inseparable consequent of organization. Any change tends to destroy the existing status to which people have adapted themselves, and creating new conditions to which people must adapt themselves always must cause a loss of energy. This difficulty of readaptation to a new mode of dress or custom or institution constitutes a permanent cost of progress. But the community spirit, even though it resists change, will remain one of the units which must be dealt with in order to reduce the inevitable cost that comes from all new inventions, new processes, and new movements leading to human progress.

Religion and group life. The evolution of religious practices shows the same vitality of community life. Among savages religion was a local matter. Each family or clan or tribe had its own totem, its own gods, and its own forms of ceremonial and worship. As the small groups were enlarged by federation or conquest, and varying ideas were brought into conflict, there was a sort of amalgamation of belief and practice into generalized customs. These continued to show small variations, allied with a modicum of religious toleration. When the civic federations developed into more or less consolidated states, different religions existed side by side, until some one of them gained the ascendancy and crushed the others. But the force of different ideals and different social and physical environments is so persistent that all religions have tended to break up into sects or denominations. Thus, in modern days we have hundreds of different sects and denominations of Christianity, and each denomination has its variations, either local or organizational. For example, in denominations with large congregational independence, such as the Baptist and Congregational churches, there may be wide variations of belief, ceremonial, and spirit in different regions or different congregations in the same region. The difference between

Eastern and Western Baptists in the United States is often noted, and even in a single city what may be preached from one pulpit will be denounced as rank heresy in another.

A general principle may be noted from this analysis which applies to other institutions as well as the church; namely, that, in a highly organized society, the community may be one of locality or one of interest. Just as we select our ordinary neighbors in a large city from thousands of people, so we select our religious, idealistic, and institutional neighbors from an organization of national or international scope. The community of interest and influence still exists, however complex the social organization, and is scarcely less powerful in dominating our lives than were the small neighborhood contacts of a less highly differentiated society.

Instead of being objectionable these local variations are coming to be considered valuable adjuncts to efficient church work. It is being recognized that every congregation, even in highly centralized denominations, has its specific problems. Therefore local variations to meet local needs are being emphasized. Churchmen are pleading that each church become a community and social center. A parish house or a suite of social and recreation rooms is a part of every well-planned church building. Different departments must be adapted to different age and culture groups of each congregation, and the chief mission of each organization should be adapted to the type of community it serves.

The school and the community. Still more than other institutions must the school meet community needs. It is supported, not by a class of people, but by the whole people. It serves, not one interest, but all interests. Social, economic, political, and religious interests are equally bound up in the educational system. What may be best for

one may not necessarily be best for the others, but what serves one vitally will necessarily react upon all. Certainly what injures one of these fundamental interests cannot in the long run benefit another. They all depend for their highest welfare upon well-developed men and women, and they are consequently interested in the efficient work of the schools. Just as all institutions must be vitally affected by the kind of training our children get in the home and on the playground, so must they be affected by their later or contemporaneous training in the schools.

The family and the play group are, in our civilization, mainly individualistic enterprises. The school is communal and socialistic. The first two groups cannot be dominated by the public — cannot be controlled by public officials for the public good; but the school, being a community enterprise, can be directed toward public ends. It can be made to train the children of the public for political, economic, and social welfare. Not only can it be done but largely in proportion as it is done can the school as a compulsory public institution be justified. The individual and social ends of education must both be looked after; but since the home looks primarily after the individual welfare of the specific child, the school must be careful not to neglect the social welfare of the individual as related to the social welfare of all. Consequently the aim of the school must be to train the child as definitely as possible to take up the duties of politics, business, and society, and to carry them on efficiently. Likewise, since schools are locally supported, they owe their training allegiance to the local community and to the type of activities upon which that community is based.

The community nature and purpose of the schools has an even more solid base on which to rest. They not only owe allegiance to local institutions because of their local sup-

port, but their efficiency in training for life depends upon training children to live in the local or a similar community. There was a time when rural children were educated away from their home surroundings. At the same time city children of poorer parents were being educated out of sympathy with the occupations, beliefs, and customs of their parents. This was partly justifiable in the United States in the days of limited education, and when unlimited opportunities were opened up for migration and change of occupation, but with more settled conditions any justification that may once have existed has disappeared. Over eighty per cent of our present population, and we are the most mobile people in the world, are now living in the State of their birth. Many of those who have migrated are living in the same sort of environments they were educated into in their native States. It is a matter of common observation by those who know the history of the settlement of the West and of present-day migrations that rural people going to a new State generally go to the country, and city people go to another city. Likewise most of our people keep the same occupation they start with in the business world, or adopt a similar one, and a very small percentage change their church or cultural relations. Such small percentages of change in either locality or occupation, or in culture groups, are practically negligible in planning a curriculum or directing educational practice.

The school and political training. To get at the more specific values of training into the actual life of the community, let us look at the leading phases of our ordinary life activities separately. First, let us examine the political phase.

What sort of political training is needed for a particular school system? That must depend upon the type of politics upon which the government of the community is based. What virtues are most needed in the development of the

political community? When these are found, there the emphasis should be placed. In the German system of government the most important political virtues are obedience to authority and unquestioning service along whatever line public utility demands. These ends have been recognized by the German Government, and have been striven for with all the force it commands. The effects are undoubted, and the German system quite well attains its end. But obedience is not the most fundamental virtue in the American or English systems. Nor is unquestioning service. We must have obedience, certainly, but initiative is much more important. Likewise we must have faithful service, but intelligence is also imperative if we are to attain efficiency under our more liberal systems.

But how does this apply between communities within a particular country, you may ask? Let us apply it in the United States. We shall admit that many national problems are the same for all sections of the country. But many are not. The Northeast, the North, the South, the West, each have problems different from those of every other section. The commercial, the manufacturing, the agricultural, and the transportation industries each have their separate problems. Since our general statutes are based upon weight and intelligence of authority, if each section and each industry is not trained to look after its interest it cannot hope to get equal advantages from democratically made laws. The unequal distribution of governmental favors has led to much sectional and class bitterness in the past, largely because one was trained to look after its interests and another was not. The South, the West, agriculture, transportation, have alternately been coddled and discriminated against, not according to an intelligent plan, but as a result of caprice or in response to outbursts of popular indignation. Moreover, these sections and interests have not generally been

intelligently united upon what was best for them at any given time. If each section and interest could be trained to know what measures would benefit itself, and to strive wisely to attain those measures, there would be formed a basis for the general education of the whole public upon the needs of all. Upon this basic intelligence there could be carried on a struggle between equals such as would breed mutual respect and compromise instead of unintelligent class bickerings, and a more national type of patriotism might then be developed.

Specific political training. If local and class interests, frankly recognized, could be made to breed national patriotism, as they naturally would in our competitive society, how much more important do they become in local government! Just how much good does it do the country boy to learn about the misgovernment of Tammany Hall, the proud political degradation of Philadelphia, the boodling of the Butler gang in St. Louis, or of Abe Reuf in San Francisco? How much of the moral residuum will be effective in his vote at the school election or for a county officer? It is easy for the farmer to grow indignant at police graft or municipal corruption, but how often does he wrestle with despair over his good neighbor who trifles away the road tax or the poor funds? The writer, as a rural school boy, had his righteous wrath stirred over national and municipal waste, but never realized until later that his friend, the road overseer, was giving less for his money than the average agent of Tammany Hall. The business man will grow purple in the face discussing governmental inefficiency, and then demand that the local post-office be given to a broken-down politician or ex-soldier. Practically all writers agree that our Government is most efficient at the top, and grows steadily weaker and more corrupt as we go down through the state, city, county, town, and rural district. If our schools are to

improve politics with any degree of rapidity they must begin in the local community, and educate the youth first of all regarding local needs and local duties, and must succeed in implanting in him a spirit that will demand community political service and efficiency. Only thus can we rid ourselves of that "holier than thou" feeling that leads all of us to see evil in some far-removed place, or in some other class in society, and overlook the corruption at our own door.

Training for economic life. But training for the local economic world is even more imperative than meeting the needs of local politics. Business is largely a community affair. Local resources in soil, climate, water-power, timber, mines, manufacturing, and transportation form the basis of community prosperity. Regarding business life it may be said that nearly every person in later years follows an occupation familiar to him as a youth. His early ambition to follow a calling known to him at the time leads to observation and study of its demands. Moreover, he is likely to follow the occupation of his father, or a neighbor, because he can easily get a start, and later advancement in it. The boy whose ancestors and friends are farmers or tradesmen loses the whole weight of their influence when he trains himself for an editor, a lawyer, or a school teacher. Sons of farmers make the best farmers, sons of lawyers make the best lawyers, sons of physicians the best physicians, etc. This handicap of change is permanent, and causes one of the greatest costs of progress. If a boy leaves the occupation whose traditions he has been compelled to learn, and his friends who could aid in his education or occupational advancement, he must go among strangers empty-handed. Economy of training for the business world demands that every youth should, in so far as his taste and ability fit him for it, be educated in an occupation existing in his community.

The public will then discharge its duty, and if the individual changes his field of effort he, by virtue of superior ability along some other line, will be able to make up the inevitable loss.

Continuity in training. Another point of view is the effect upon the industries of a community. If they are to thrive in the competitive world they must have a trained labor supply. This labor supply, to be fully efficient, must be continuous from parent to children. Family knowledge necessarily absorbed and community traditions necessarily discussed form the basis of occupational training the world over. The best rug-weavers are in the Orient, the best watch-makers in Switzerland or Waterbury, the best diamond-cutters in Holland, the best farmers in the western part of the United States. Occupational and industrial knowledge is cumulative in the same way that scientific and classical knowledge is cumulative from generation to generation. If a community wants to build up successful industries along any line, it must train up its local labor supply for its local industries, just as it builds up its specialized capital supply or its natural resources. This can be done only by adapting its educational and vocational training to its particular occupational needs.

Training for social life. Training for the local social environment is more vital in many ways than either for the political or economic environment. One must have avocations as well as a vocation. Local amusements must exist for young and old alike. These will be high or low, healthful or physically injurious, wholesome or immoral, cultural or plebeian, largely in proportion as the young are deliberately trained for them. If rowdyism, drunkenness, cheap theaters, sensational literature, ragtime music, and hopelessly commonplace art are to be replaced by higher ideals, the schools must play a large rôle in developing higher taste along all lines

where instinctive emotions demand an outlet. Educators too frequently join the clergy in declaiming vociferously against cheap amusements, and then fail to do any constructive work in replacing them with something better. Mere negativism in amusement has as little relation to character-building as denouncing war has to the establishment of universal peace.

The whole amusement problem is a local one. One must play with his playmates, however few and commonplace, and adapt his games to their number and equipment. What good would it do a country boy to develop a taste for classical music when he cannot hear it? What would it profit the child of the poor to learn of the joys of hearing and seeing *Hamlet* played when the price of the cheapest seat is a dollar and a half? The Sistine Madonna and the palace of Versailles may be beautiful ideals, but they have little to do with the artistic and architectural taste of the boy whose visions of art are limited to the Sunday supplement, a few chromos, or the architecture of the village main street. Education of taste must begin at home, and in the school and the community, if it is to reach more than the dreamer and the genius.

Likewise children must be trained to engage in the purely social affairs of the community. The social environment of the child may be crude, but a snobbish attitude toward it in the schools will breed snobbery in the character of the youth who is trained to feel superior to it. Improvement can be brought about only by the active participation of those possessing higher ideals. Their leadership rather than their supercilious criticism is needed. All of us are familiar with the rural snob, the village and town snob, and the provincial city snob, who, having perchance seen better things, refuses to take part in the more commonplace neighborhood affairs, thus depriving the community of possible leader-

ship. At the same time such a person is subtly undermining his or her own sense of responsibility, which ultimately destroys the foundations of character. Social poise and real taste in social courtesy, dress, manners, customs, etc., can be obtained only by experience and participation in actual social life. It is a matter of vital importance, then, that all agencies for the training of youth — the home, the church, the school — must unite to see that the social life is not neglected nor allowed to go unsupervised.

Training for coöperative effort. The necessity of coöperation in various phases of institutional life must also be inculcated. Ability to organize itself, to act *en masse*, to make the neighborhood a microcosm of all life, is the desideratum in every community that wishes to perpetuate itself. Writers on the problems of the rural school and the rural church are unanimous in ascribing much of their decadence to this neglect of training for organization. Isolation has a tendency to develop extreme individualism. It is this separateness that prevents the coöperation among farmers that would enable them to gain a more equal share in the distribution of governmental favors or economic returns for their products. It is this same lack of experience in fellowship and organization that compels the farmer's son or daughter to hang on to the fringes of city society and take a lower social rank, temporarily at least, than their abilities and character would warrant. The same weakness holds for the resident of a provincial town when he comes into contact with the more sophisticated resident of the cosmopolitan city. It is the opportunity to gain inspiration from highly specialized social and institutional organization that enables the city to develop a larger percentage of creative genius than the country or small town. The obvious conclusion for the schools is that every effort possible should be made to advance any kind of local social, economic, institutional,

or cultural organization that will give to the boy and girl practice in coöperation, a sense of fellowship, or a feeling of community responsibility. To aid in these things every school in so far as possible should be a social and community center.

The school as a social center. One of the most promising movements in the educational world is that toward making wider use of the school plant. School buildings and equipment are paid for and owned by the public. They are in general centrally located. They must be kept heated, and generally possess facilities for lighting. Extra expense for janitor's services and incidentals is slight. No denominational bias, religious sanctity, political partisanship, class distinction, or race prejudice hovers about the premises. The school building thus becomes the best place for a democratic community social center.

There are two phases of this community service to be fostered by the schools. The first one aims directly at connecting the school with other community social agencies. The need of organic relations of the school with the home, the playground, the church, and business have been stated. No better method than the social center idea has been devised to bring this about.

Probably the most direct agency is the parent-teacher associations. These organizations have sprung up all over the country. Their specific work will be outlined later, so it is necessary at this point merely to call attention to their general value in developing the reciprocal interest of teacher and parent in each other's efforts for child welfare, and of each adding his increment of knowledge of the problem to that of the other. Mothers' clubs fostered by the kindergarten and primary departments have a similar aim. Extension work, night schools, summer playground work, use of the playground outside of school hours, school gardening

for profit, giving children credit for home or business or church work, vocational guidance, and employment bureaus all tend to connect the schools and the public more closely together.

The school and community action. The second phase of school community service is indirect. It lies in making the school a center for general community enterprises. Public meetings for civic betterment purposes, for political discussions, or meetings of social or cultural organizations may well be held in school buildings under proper restrictions. A variety of things may be done by teachers and patrons, where general social organization is deficient, to organize community enterprises about the school. This is particularly true in rural schools, poor neighborhoods, or foreign quarters in our cities. Picture shows, civic discussions and debates, literary, sewing, or social clubs, entertaining or instructive lectures, public reading-rooms, gymnastic or athletic classes, in fact any form of amusements or cultural meetings may be provided for. Parents and young people as well as children need such facilities for recreation and instruction. *Every evening spent in the schoolhouse under proper surveillance is a disqualification for pleasure in the underworld.* The school owes the community this indirect service, and progressive teachers are everywhere recognizing its possibilities. The school, says King, —

should be actively interested in all that has to do with the welfare of children. By no possible twist of logic can the proper interest of the educator be confined to the narrow problems of the schoolroom. The general well-being of the children of the community is as much the concern of the school as is their progress in the narrow school tasks. The one inevitably reacts on the other.¹

¹ Irving King, *Education for Social Efficiency*, p. 99.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. To what extent have the cities undermined neighborhood life? Illustrate.
2. Trace the solidifying of a national spirit from the early Heptarchy in England, or of a national spirit in the Thirteen Colonies. (See brief histories of England and the United States.)
3. Give an account of direct government as shown in one of the forest cantons of Switzerland. (See A. L. Lowell, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, vol. II, pp. 221-26.) Also give an account of the New England town meeting.
4. Give examples of strangers who have come into your community and whose influence has been destroyed by not recognizing local sentiment. To what extent were each right?
5. Mention instances where community of interest is superior to community of locality. Is there any virtue in electing aldermen from wards rather than from the city at large? School directors?
6. Why is the school a better institution to support a social center than the church? Describe activities of social centers you have known.
7. Have most of the people who have moved from your community gone into a similar environment, or into a changed type of environment? Tabulate cases in order to be accurate.
8. What do the voters in your community need most to know in order to vote intelligently? Is the type of civics taught in your school adapted to giving the training needed? What is the comparative value of the study of local as against national government?
9. Analyze the gains and losses in changing from one successful occupation to another.
10. What is the permanent value of developing skill in football when it is never played after leaving school? Is it worth while for the farmer to give his daughter a training in classical music if she is to remain on the farm?
11. On what basis would the school be justified in providing for evening moving-picture entertainments?
12. Outline methods by which you would develop the spirit of coöperation in a child.
13. How would you arouse interest in a social center where the social spirit is lacking?

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CHAPTER VII

EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS OF INTERMEDIATE GROUPS

Intermediate groups. The primary groups are by no means the only ones possessing large educational functions. Numerous intermediate groups with both local and general organizations, and with avenues of both direct and indirect stimulus, exist in every well-developed community. Aside from the unconscious coöperation and the semi-conscious organization of social classes and of the devotees of particular customs, fashions, fads, and ideals, we have deliberate organizations, — such as labor unions, the Grange and other farmers' societies, professional associations, the fraternal orders, social and culture clubs, scientific, literary, and art societies, and philanthropic foundations, — all of which have definite educational purposes. They not only have indirect educational influences through the inspiring contacts they promote, but many of them have educational programs and take an active part in educational legislation and control. Next to the school, which will be treated separately, it is the Church which plays the largest rôle in education. During most of its history the Christian Church has been especially active in founding and maintaining schools, and for many centuries it exercised organic control over formal education. With each of these intermediate groups, possessing at least large informal educational functions, the school, as the present coördinating educational agency, must establish harmonious working relations.

Labor unions. Labor unions in some form have existed for many centuries. While differing in many respects from the modern labor organizations, the mediæval and early

modern guilds were their forerunners. The craft guilds regulated work, workmen, and many of the conditions of trade. In the days of scant formal education they provided an efficient informal training which was the means of lifting many serfs into freemen and many freemen to a higher social status. Through seven years of apprenticeship, spent mainly in the master's home, the novice was taught the mechanics of a trade, given some knowledge of buying and selling, accorded social opportunities, and stimulated to a wider outlook on life. While in their more prosperous days they became selfish and exclusive, they nevertheless provided the only means of education open to many young men, and paved the way for the industrial and social development of a later day.

The modern trade union has both an indirect and a direct educational significance. Throughout history hand workers have been held in low esteem. Generally they have accepted their position and services as inferior, which has reacted upon their characters and tended to keep them in subjection. Their only means of rapid advance has been and is to-day the development of a class consciousness, which, by virtue of the power and inspiration of numbers, will arouse self-confidence and stimulate initiative and ambition. With a heritage of traditional inferiority, self-consciousness must be aided by group consciousness to enable the workman to hold up his own head and demand for himself and his family all the higher privileges of an enlightened citizenship.

Educational influence of the union. In the union meetings the workman learns to assert himself, to express his feelings and opinions, and to struggle shoulder-to-shoulder with his fellows. His wits are sharpened, his ideas broadened, and his consciousness expanded by discussion and the inpouring of the opinions and sentiments of other groups in other communities. Much of the talk may be rabid and many of the

joint actions futile, but the very effort is educative. Collective bargaining means collective thinking. It is everywhere noted that unions tend to grow more conservative, more reasonable, and more effective with age and competitive experience. Local contacts and stimuli are supplemented by those of district, state, and national associations, which give added sympathy and breadth of view. These larger organizations, through their representatives, establish mutual aid agencies, such as sick and accident benefits, take a part in legislation affecting labor, and build up the social and coöperative spirit. Locally the social spirit is extended to the families of laboring men through balls, parties, athletic contests, picnics, and other associational festivities. Altogether the indirect educative value of labor organization is probably not less significant than its immediate economic effect.

The direct influence of the union on education comes primarily through its legislative program and its attitude toward local schools. As early as 1829 a labor assemblage in New York demanded a national system of education giving "An enlightened, practical and systematic course of instruction, including the knowledge of at least one trade or useful occupation." One year later a meeting at Boston demanded "A liberal system of education, especially in science which pertains to the mechanical employments." The Trade Union Congress of England in 1907 announced an educational policy which demanded "A national system of education under full popular control, free and secular from the primary school to the university," and that "secondary and technical education be an essential part of every child's education."

The American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor has in recent years taken an active part in forwarding educational measures. In 1903 an educational investigating committee was appointed to study child labor, the apprenticeship question, the effect on the wage-earner

of the graduates of trade schools, manual-training schools, and schools of technology and of industrial education. This committee confined its labors to a study of trade education conducted by unions, such as the International Typographical Union, the Photo-Engravers' Union, etc. Other committees were appointed in 1904, 1905, and 1906, but the first real study of national importance was begun in 1907. This committee, with various reports and renewals, continued until 1912, when a final report was made. In the mean time, at the request of the Federation, the United States Bureau of Labor had made an exhaustive study of industrial and trade education in the United States, an abstract of which appears in the 1912 *Report*. Various resolutions were adopted from 1903 to 1912 favoring additional education for manual workers. The general attitude may be shown in the following excerpt from the *Report*:—

A healthy community is impossible without the union of the schoolhouse, the home, and workshop. Modern life has not yet accommodated itself to the great revolution of our industrial system. Nothing but a thorough industrial education and understanding of economical interest of society can lead to the necessary union between labor and capital and give peace and prosperity to the present disturbed and suffering industrial world.

We believe that the education of workers in trade or industry is a public necessity, and that it should not be a private but a public function, conducted by the public and the expense involved at public cost.¹

Union labor is opposed to private and corporate industrial schools through fear of exploitation, and many local unions have been selfish or partisan, but in general they have favored and demanded progressive educational measures. Before industrial education can efficiently accomplish the work it is designed to do, it must have the support of organized

¹ *Report of the Committee on Industrial Education of the American Federation of Labor*, 1912, p. 19.

labor. Means of mutual sympathetic insight and coöperation between schoolmen and labor leaders must be devised. Labor cannot afford to lose the inspiration and training of the public schools, any more than the schools can afford to lose the moral and voting support of the laboring world. The so-called common man has begun to struggle for education as a right rather than a privilege, but has yet to gain an adequate hearing or to exercise the valuable check on progressive educational practice that his numbers and his importance in society would warrant.

Farm Organizations. Much of the same sort of educational value as that found in the labor union is found in farmers' unions. The Grange is the oldest and the most typical of these. It was formed in 1867, and has flourished in many places ever since. In five years its membership reached 750,000. Later its effectiveness waned, but interest in it has been revived within recent years, and it now promises permanence and a larger influence. Its foundation principles are organization, coöperation, and education. Its achievements in legislation, reviving interest in farm life, and in education have been numerous. The practical nature and efficiency of our agricultural colleges, as well as their liberal public support, is due quite largely to Grange agitation. The locals have often taken an active and generally a helpful interest in the rural schools. While many efforts in the line of coöperative buying and selling, coöperative stores, and the managing of business enterprises undertaken by the Grange have failed, a higher civic and cultural attitude toward life has everywhere been fostered by them. The value of the Grange in socializing rural life and stimulating informal educational contacts is indicated by the fact that during one year, 1910, ten Grange halls, which were social centers for the young as well as the mature, were dedicated in the State of New York alone.

Similar to the Grange in organization and effectiveness is the American Society of Equity, founded in Indiana in 1902, and the Farmers' Union, established in Texas during the same year. The latter society claimed a membership of 3,000,000 in 1910. An even more definitely educational enterprise is the Hesperia Movement, or the Teacher's and Patron's Association, founded at Hesperia, Michigan, in 1905. It has been very effective in uniting the rural home and the rural school in several Michigan counties, and promises to spread to other States.

Farmers' institutes. It is to the farmers' institutes, however, that we must look for the greatest educational awakening among farmers. The institutes, more than any other agency, have been responsible for the opening of the farmers' eyes to the need of scientific agriculture. They have been held for more than half a century, but only recently have they been liberally supported by state and national appropriations.

In 1910 every State had institutes organized under the charge of responsible directors, with a corps of over one thousand teachers who were specialists. Besides regular and special institutes, the movement embraces movable schools of agriculture, field demonstrations, and agricultural trains. . . . Institutes have not only informed but inspired farmers. They have aroused dormant communities, quickened life, made men think and discuss, given opportunity for self-development, encouraged the despondent, and lightened the burdens of many men and women by teaching better and easier methods of farming and housekeeping. They have popularized agricultural education and started multitudes to attend agricultural colleges.¹

The effectiveness of the rural schools and of the agricultural high schools and colleges is dependent, to a large extent, upon the attitude of farmers toward the instruction they are offering. Farmers' organizations and meetings

¹ J. M. Gillette, *Constructive Rural Sociology*, pp. 297-98.

form the best means for obtaining the coöperation of the rural community with school enterprises, such as the organization of boys' and girls' clubs, the promotion of libraries, and the focalizing of neighborhood life about the school as a social center. No ambitious and serious-minded rural teacher, therefore, can afford to ignore them.

Professional associations. Even more than labor and farm organizations have the professional associations aided education. These associations are made up of educated men who are acutely conscious of the value and the necessity of educational training. Consequently they have always been found in the forefront of school supporters. Their members have been prominent on school boards, on the list of college and university trustees, and in pushing new educational enterprises. Ministerial associations, medical societies, and legal fraternities have adopted resolutions in numberless cases favoring progressive school measures, from the support of a local bond levy for new buildings to the enactment of a state or national compulsory school law. They have been especially active in such measures as the securing of child-labor laws, in school sanitation and the medical inspection of school-children, and in moral instruction and the protection of the habits of pupils.

Even more useful have they been regarding the advance of professional education. Lawyers have been largely responsible for the improvement of law schools, physicians for the advancing quality of medical schools, and ministers for the modicum of advance made in theological seminaries. In raising the standards of professional schools they have contributed heavily to advancing standards in general education, particularly with reference to secondary schools. Doubtless some of their energy has been poorly directed by insistence upon existing curricula, which were primarily adapted to foundational work for professional study rather

than for the needs of the masses, but the requirement of advancing standards even for special purposes has been a valuable service. As the coöperation and support of the labor unions and farm organizations cannot safely be neglected by school men, neither can the more intelligent criticism and greater community influence of professional associations be overlooked in building up the social clientèle of the schools.

Fraternal, social, and culture clubs. Every socialized community has more or less of club life. In frontier neighborhoods this is likely to be intermittent and chaotic, but as the communal spirit develops it acquires more definite and better organized forms. The rude assemblages of backwoodsmen or cowboys, the social gatherings of the sparsely settled rural neighborhood, and the fraternal organizations of the hamlet are mainly local groups; but as the hamlet grows into the village or town and the town into the city organization, larger institutional groups exert their indirect authority. Fraternal orders such as the Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Elks, etc., have both local and national sanctions. They exercise indirect educational functions through the expansion of local sympathy, fellowship, and helpfulness, to include larger groups with less intimate contacts. They show direct interest in education by offering scholarships, aiding orphans to remain in school, and might well be stimulated to special support of certain phases of local school work, such as playgrounds and play supervision, community amusements, and local cultural enterprises.

Women's clubs. It is, however, to the social service and culture clubs, particularly of women, that we are accustomed to look for the largest educational service. Few extra-school organizations have been so universally helpful in promoting the best things of community life as have women's clubs. They have both the virtues and faults of

newness, but their influence has been rapidly growing. Only recently have women been admitted to equality of educational opportunity with men, and that chiefly in the United States. On the basis of these new opportunities such rapid advancement has been made that women, somewhat unconsciously, perhaps, are showing their gratitude by becoming educational apostles for all classes. This is prompted doubtless by a greater and more intimate knowledge of children, and a finer appreciation of the bases of child welfare than men possess. Whatever reasons conspire to bring it about, women have shown an intense interest in education, especially elementary education, and may be counted upon to increase and make more intelligent that interest.

The recency of the intellectual advance of woman makes organization of particular value to her. Women, on account of their family and household cares, are apt to lose their desire for contact with the life of the community and to fall slaves to a deadening routine from which it grows more and more difficult to break. This routine nature of woman's work, together with her secluded life, formerly kept her interests very largely confined to the home and the neighborhood. Organization has been necessary to expand that interest to wider areas and to break up insular seclusion. Men may laugh at women wrangling over personalities and club politics, but they probably will pass through that stage much faster than have men. Moreover, the cultural and social-service ideals fostered in club relationships have started on a high plane, and no very long time will be required to make them effective.

Aside from the value of women's clubs in self-education, they have done much to aid public education. The General Federation of Women's Clubs has a permanent committee on education, and has organized a central bureau for the collection of information relative to the work of local clubs,

and for the offering of suggestions to the state and local committees. A General Federation *Bulletin* is published to make available to the more than 800,000 federated women the needs, aims, and methods of club work, and much of its space is taken up with educational enterprises. The National Congress of Mothers is vitally concerned with the mutual relations of home, school, and city. The program of educational service adopted at the second international congress includes: "the training of children in the privileges of citizenship; legislation to abolish the common cup; the best preparation for non-college education; normal, domestic, and moral training in the curriculum; careful selection of janitors; definite methods for cleaning and ventilation; medical inspection; special classes for backward children; and probation for wayward children under sixteen through boards of education."¹ The Association of Collegiate Alumnae and the Southern Association of College Women are doing similar work, in addition to furnishing scholarships for poor and worthy students. The department of school patrons of the National Educational Association aims to coördinate all of these agencies into a unified body, by means of a joint committee in which each group of clubs is represented.

Educational accomplishments of women's clubs. What can actually be accomplished is shown quite well in Chicago. Kindergartens were started by women's clubs and maintained until the board of education and the general public could be educated up to the point of supporting them. The Vacation School and Playground Committee, representing sixty-nine women's clubs, aided greatly in forwarding the admirable playground system of Chicago. When that work was turned over to the school board they reorganized into the Permanent School Extension Committee for agitating

¹ Elsa Denison, *Helping School-Children*, p. 181.

the wider use of the school plant. Story-telling, larger playgrounds, civic training, milk distribution, social centers, and penny lunches, are only a part of the things they are fostering.

Scarcely a city in the Union can be found which cannot show some new educational enterprise either originated or popularized by women's clubs. Such a force for moulding public sentiment and rendering concrete service cannot be intelligently ignored by superintendents and teachers. Means of properly directing this energy must be provided, or it may easily work harm as well as good. Club women need to recognize that they are not experts in education, as the teacher is, and the teacher must understand that they can do things which he cannot through their wider and apparently more disinterested contacts with the public.

Scientific, art, and literary societies. In even more direct ways than the group activities previously mentioned are scientific, art, and literary organizations educational. Generally speaking, their work and aims are directed almost solely toward the development and spread of knowledge, taste, and higher culture. Such organizations as the American Historical Society, and a number of sectional historical societies; the American Sociological Society; the American Political Science Association; the American Economic Association; local, sectional, and national academies of science; art leagues and literary associations have their meetings, publications, and festive celebrations partly for self-stimulus, but mainly for stimulating public interest and distributing knowledge of the particular field of activity in which their members are interested. Their mission is specifically educational in the sense that they are dealing with the real materials of knowledge and culture, and any advance they make finds its way directly into educational curricula rather than through some reflex manner, as in the case of most

other group activities. They not only stimulate their own members to higher ideals and broader visions, but they build up the general standards of knowledge, taste, and ideals. In addition they lead the schools to elevate their demands and possibilities of cultural training, and provide numerous prizes, scholarships, and fellowships for the encouragement of special research and original achievements.

Philanthropic foundations. Akin to the organizations just mentioned in their educational significance is the long list of philanthropic bequests, endowments, and research foundations so rapidly multiplied in the last few decades. From early times gifts and bequests have been made for the foundation of fellowships, lectureships, and educational institutions by kings, wealthy churchmen, educators, and philanthropically inclined individuals and societies. Most of the universities that have paved the way for the advancement of learning are philanthropic in origin. The same may be said for many of the earlier elementary and semi-public schools. Most of our American colleges and universities have benefited largely, if they were not originally founded, by free-will gifts. In addition it is to be noted that the introduction of new ideas, new methods, and new materials into our public school is often the result of experiments philanthropically conducted.

Much of the purest scholarship of the country and many of the highest scientific attainments are being promoted by research foundations. Recently such large foundations as the Rockefeller General Education Board, the Carnegie Institution, the Carnegie Corporation, the Russell Sage Foundation, the Jeanes Fund for the education of negroes, and other bequests have given an impulse to education only equaled by the liberality of the State in supporting public schools. They are particularly valuable in supple-

menting regular educational agencies and accomplishing needed work for which the public is as yet unwilling to pay.

The church. Historically, and in many ways at present, the Church has shown itself the first friend and ally of the school. An analysis of the ascent of man through the various stages of his advancement will prove religion to be too important a factor in progress to be neglected in any discussion of the training of the young. This is especially true in a sociological treatment, where all of the contributing factors in a social situation must receive consideration. Leaving out of account all controverted points regarding the nature of religion, its basis in natural forces or in Revelation, and its fundamental mission, the concrete facts of its universality and its social significance must be accepted. Religious institutions were among the first to be differentiated in primitive society, and in all advanced stages of culture they are embodied in extensive and powerful organizations, interested in every phase of youthful training. These facts would make the Church worthy of a place in educational sociology, even if its history and present attitude were less closely associated with our educational progress.

Church organization. Among the most primitive peoples studied, religion belonged either to the family or the horde-like group. As social organization evolved into tribal groups, ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies began to be delegated to certain leaders. These leaders or medicine men gradually organized their efforts into some sort of system and became responsible for religious services. The priesthood, thus differentiated, soon established itself as a close corporation, selecting and training its own membership. Since one phase of organization calls for another, the body of traditions, symbols, and means of worship were formulated into a settled religious institution, or Church. With

the advance toward civilization a religious literature was added and church organization was perfected.

Beginning of church education. Every institution has a tendency to develop both exclusiveness and inclusiveness, to be exclusive in personnel and inclusive in function. Quite naturally the rising Church began to magnify the priestly office and make it exclusive, by forbidding it to the non-elect and by requiring education for the priesthood. Likewise it began to enlarge its mission by incorporating within church jurisdiction certain non-ecclesiastical functions. In extending its program to the wider field of social service, general education was found to be of too great importance to be overlooked. With the growth of intelligence priestly supremacy had to depend more and more upon superior knowledge and training for leadership. Consequently schools were established, first for those dedicating their lives to the Church, and later for those whose influence could be counted upon to aid in religious development. It must not be supposed, however, that all of early church educational effort was for self-aggrandizement. A steadily increasing amount of it was purely humanitarian. All great religious lawgivers have emphasized the training of the young as the foundation of religious and all other superior accomplishment, and their teachings have been used as the basis for the upbuilding of educational systems.

The primary facts to be noted, then, are that the religious institution was one of the earliest to be developed, and that the priesthood was one of the earliest specialized callings. Furthermore, it may be accepted that organized instruction was originally an ecclesiastical function, and in early civilization formal schooling was mainly the work of priests. This continued until the State was separated from the Church and became dominant in the control of the young. Even in Greece early education was an ecclesiastical func-

tion, and only lost its religious nature as the State attained a centralized control over all phases of life.

Struggle between Church and State. In the early days of Christianity it opposed established education largely because the existing schools fostered other religions. But with the conquest of Rome by Christianity this opposition ceased and the Church began to take over education. Before the close of the Middle Ages it had obtained full control over most of the European schools. During the same period it had developed large temporal authority and became a rival of the State in secular power. This brought on a struggle for supremacy between the Church and the State which dominated the political history of several centuries.

An analysis of history will show that the most powerful institution in every age has sought temporary influence and perpetuity by maintaining control of the educational function. Therefore, in the later mediæval and early modern era, when the great national States were being formed and were developing self-consciousness and aggressiveness, it was inevitable that they should challenge the supremacy of the Church in education. A long struggle was thus precipitated for the control of the schools. The Church had control of the existing schools, or formal education, while the State, through its larger control of law, social and economic rewards, and other non-ecclesiastical institutions, had control of the more dominant influences of informal education.

As the State gained supremacy in temporal affairs, and attained greater wealth and political solidarity, it began to build a system of formal education by establishing state schools alongside the church schools. Thus the state school, which for several centuries had been a part of the Church, was slowly differentiated and became a separate institution under state patronage. So rapidly has secular education

grown that the public school is now accorded coördinate rank with the Church as a social institution.

Effects of the separation of Church and school. This divorce of the Church and the school has been so bitterly fought, however, that it has bred antagonisms which have sometimes flourished where only the spirit of fellowship ought to exist. As the Church and the State have ceased to be competitors in Western civilization, and are now working, each in its own way, for social progress, so the Church and the school, acting as agents of the State, should work in harmony together or, at least, in parallel fields of usefulness. But too often there is a mutual distrust which aids neither. This draws an artificial line between the work of the Church and the school in the development of character which does not exist naturally in the mind of youth, and should not be fostered. The result is that the Church, having lost its former control of the schools, has not sufficiently readjusted itself to new conditions to look after the religious training of the child, while the schools, especially in the United States, with their newborn independence have repudiated altogether any responsibility for religious education. This leaves neglected a field of youthful training which both psychology and sociology, fortified by the experience of the race, consider highly important. Some means must therefore be devised whereby either the schools will assume this neglected function or aid the churches in doing so. If the school as an institution is to hold itself responsible for complete education, and there is no escape from this responsibility, it cannot ignore the universal childish religious instinct. President Nicholas Murray Butler has well pointed out that education is a whole process, not a partial one, and the school must look after the whole child. Consequently it must face the problem of religious training as a basis of the highest moral education.

That this responsibility shall be met by a return to religious teaching in the schools does not necessarily follow any more than that the schools shall assume home training of the child. But, as has been previously shown, the schools are establishing bases of coöperation with the home. They must likewise find means of securing coöperation with the Church. Just how this shall be done is an open question.

Permanence of separation. In the first place, it may be assumed that the separation of school and Church as institutions is permanent. Clearly marked and useful social differentiation is seldom abandoned — in fact, progress always tends in the other direction. It may be further stated that, with the present development of religious toleration and enlightenment, no religious instruction that will be effective can be done in the public schools. Moreover, the Church cannot afford to abandon its work with the young. Some effective means for religious education will be devised. Modern secular education has developed a set of principles for its own guidance. It is becoming more and more scientific and efficient. In its study of the child mind it has discovered religious instincts that are not now being adequately dealt with. The breadth and inclusiveness of its nature and its coördinating function demand that it lend its technical insight and skill to aid the Church in doing for the child what it cannot itself do. So we may accept the proposition that the school must find some means of aiding the Church to make its handling of religious education as effective as school handling of secular education.

Possible methods of religious training. At present there seem to be only two ways of doing this. One is through the Sunday School and other young peoples' organizations, the other through some coöperative plan of week-day instruction. Every one recognizes the weakness of the Sunday School at present. Its teachers are not trained for their

work, and there is little well-written literature to aid the novice. Careful grading of children is not secured, and no means of disciplinary control is enforced. Many teachers and officers do not take their work seriously, and children are even less inclined to do so under present conditions. Even teachers drafted from the schools are unable to carry over their effective week-day school methods into the Sunday School.

Only recently have the theological schools established chairs and departments of religious education. President Butler has stated that nothing short of paid teachers and a carefully graded series of Biblical and religious studies can vitalize Sunday-School teaching.¹ Even then the teaching is likely to be mainly *about* religion, rather than training *in* religion. Only the coupling of this teaching with actual practice in religious work can vitalize religious education. As the need is felt, however, more and more effort will be made to bring these things about, and we may count on improvement being made more rapidly in the future than in the past.

The other method is experimental, both in the United States and in France, where conditions are similar. Thursday of each week is made a school holiday in France for the purpose of allowing the churches to give the pupils religious instruction. Church schools in the United States set apart certain periods, and conduct special classes in Bible or mission study. An interesting experiment is now being conducted by the public schools of Gary, Indiana. Pupils are excused at certain periods of the day, with the written consent of the parents, when the pastor or a selected teacher may take the pupils to one of the churches for religious instruction. Some other schools are making similar plans, but any such method of meeting the need will be slow of adop-

¹ N. M. Butler, *Principles of Religious Education*, chap. I.

tion, and there is much doubt of its value as a permanent and adequate solution of the problem.

Student-pastors, and religious organizations. One of the hopeful signs of the times is the establishment at our state universities of student-pastors representing the religious work of the various denominations. These student-pastors are, as are a large share of the leaders in denominational colleges, interested in coördinating church work with school work, and are evolving a theology and a religious system more in harmony with the scientific and progressive thought of the age. Their educational point of view, reinforced by modernized theological schools, particularly through chairs of religious education, may aid in devising means of reaching high-school students, and later the pupils in elementary schools. Likewise the spread of the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., and other young peoples' religious societies, is paving the way through informal religious education for the formal training that will follow it in the course of natural evolution. Many of these societies are now being formed in high schools, or direct coöperation is being established with leaders of those movements outside of the schools. This is especially true of the relations now being established between city Y.M.C. A. secretaries and school officials.¹ Another means of coöperation existing in many places is the giving of public-school credit for properly authenticated work done in the Sunday School and other church organizations. This can be adopted as a permanent policy only when the Church finds some means of substituting real study and work for the sentimentalism so prevalent in those organizations to-day.

¹ In the Hutchinson, Kansas, Y.M.C.A., and in the new Emporia, Kansas, Y.M.C.A., direct coöperation with the high-school principal is established by which certain privileges, such as use of the swimming-pool and the bowling-alleys, are refused to high-school pupils unfaithful in their school work.

Moral instruction in schools. Probably the most hopeful outlook, however, is through the newly aroused interest in moral education among public-school men. Some one has pointed out that the discussions in the meetings of the National Education Association, as shown in the files of their reports, indicate a lack of earlier interest in moral training. That cannot be alleged against the discussions in teachers' associations to-day. The process of moralization is being faced from every angle. The course of study, the environment of students outside the school, and methods of teaching are all being investigated and overhauled from the moral standpoint. It is more generally recognized than ever before that the product of the schools must be measured in moral no less than in intellectual terms. While didactic instruction in morals is generally discredited, there is a growing demand that the outcome of every policy square with the requirements of social morality. Further study must reveal the value of a religious sanction for all conduct, more particularly among the youthful.

A large part of America's undoubted irreverence must be traced to the training of young people of school age, and the flamboyant democracy of the public school must bear its share of responsibility for it. Every European nation is meeting the religious school problem better than we are, and, while Germany and England probably over-emphasize the importance of their formal religious training in the schools as a basis for the development of fundamental morals, we are certainly indefensibly weak in our attitude of wholly ignoring it. The process of socialization is incomplete without a virile Church, and the socialization of our schools can never stop short of some means of intimate coöperation between the Church and the school.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. Distinguish carefully between informal and formal education. (See especially W. C. Bagley, *Educative Process*, chap. II.)
2. What is the educational attitude of the labor unions in your community? Have they taken an organized stand for or against any local educational movement?
3. What are the farm organizations in your State doing for education?
4. Investigate and see what the fraternal organizations of your community are doing for education.
5. What educational movements in your community have had the formal support of any professional association?
6. What have the local women's clubs done for education?
7. What practical results have you known to come from parent-teacher associations and mother's clubs?
8. What is the educative value of the school literary society? Catalogue and analyze the work of fine art, musical, literary, and dramatic societies in your school. Also your home community. Do the same for scientific societies.
9. Analyze the work of the Carnegie or the Rockefeller foundations. What virtue is there in the opposition to them?
10. How many churches in your State support parochial schools? Denominational colleges? Analyze their real purposes in doing so.
11. What are the proportions of college students in the State, denominational, and independent colleges of your State? Also the proportion of parochial to public-school pupils?
12. Are there any methods of direct coöperation between the churches and the schools in use in your community? If so, what? What other practicable methods can you suggest?
13. What are the religious organizations in your school and what specific work are they doing?
14. What is the general effect of college life in your institution upon the religion of its students?

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CHAPTER VIII

THE STATE AND EDUCATION

Importance of the modern State. Among secondary groups the State is far the most important. The modern centralized national State is not only the most dominant and inclusive of all social organizations, but it is the central axis about which other institutions revolve. It dominates, not merely by virtue of its force and sovereignty, but also by the breadth and inclusiveness of its telic aims. Every other institution is required to accept its sanction and, in some measure, its actual and potential oversight reaches every phase of human society. Other large institutions may be correlative and competitive with each other; the State admits no equals and tolerates no competitors. We come in contact with the State only through its agent, the Government, and even then indirectly through the medium of its representatives; yet its field of operations is so inclusive that its influence touches us at innumerable points in both our individual and institutional relations.

Nature of the State. Political scientists have generally agreed that the four factors — territory, population, unity, and organization — are necessary elements in any State. As a function of these four or as a separate element must be the idea of sovereignty. These elements may vary in relation to each other and are found in groups ranging all the way from mere aggregations of people, occupying an indefinite region, with few things in common, and temporarily acting together under the loosest bonds of self-interest, to large bodies of homogeneous people, bound together by intimate ties of fellowship, similarity of interest, and

mutual dependence through complex social, economic, and cultural organization. At the head of the State must be a Government, which may grade anywhere from a pure autocracy to a fairly complete democracy. Its function may vary from the simple duty of the physical protection of subjects from outside enemies to the telic direction of citizens through comprehensive programs of constructive legislation. The relative position of States in civilization may be judged by the emphasis placed upon the factors of unity and organization as shown in the attitude of the Government toward its citizens, and the extent and wisdom of its control for the purpose of stimulating social progress.

Evolution of the State. Whether the State originated among mere aggregations of people who discovered the value of working together in forwarding self-interest, or was the outgrowth of family life through patriarchal enlargements, is a question for the political scientist to settle. The sociologist is more interested in the later stages of development as they have influenced social relations. The ordinary stages in this evolution may be classified as the clan, the tribe, the federation, and the centralized State. In early times the State generally consisted of a city, an island, or a small territorial group. Amalgamation of these petty groups took place by means of the incorporation of conquered territory, or by voluntary alliances. The larger federations or States thus formed were again united into federations which, through assimilation and organization, were consolidated into national States. These national States have followed a similar law of expansion, extending their territorial boundaries by external accretions, and population by internal growth. Nor is there any reason for supposing that present States have reached their final extent of territorial organization. Other amalgamations may create States the like of which have been seen only

in the dreams of great conquerors or other large-minded men who were able to think in world units.

Forms of government. The form of government has also undergone numerous and confusing changes. Greek philosophers worked out a regular cycle of change which characterized the petty Greek States. From the modern evolutionary point of view it may be stated that governmental authority has ever tended, in spite of frequent reversals, to move from the few to the many. Primitive types of government generally showed absolute authority centered in a chieftain, a patriarch, or a king. Later struggles compelled this autocrat to divide his authority with a few others in an oligarchy. Such distribution of authority was further extended by including larger numbers into a more or less widely extended aristocracy. Beyond this extended aristocracy no large government ever went before the nineteenth century, but the revolutionary epoch which closed the eighteenth century and ushered in the nineteenth saw the beginning of the final struggle to expand the existing aristocracies into political democracies. This struggle is by no means ended, but it has already resulted in the enfranchisement of the masses in the leading nations, and is gradually distributing political authority in the others.

So rapid has been the expansion of the suffrage that political philosophers are raising the question as to whether or not the movement has been precipitate. Great movements gather a momentum that enables them to roll so resistlessly over opposition that they may destroy the balance of society. Just as amalgamation of peoples is a slower process than confederation, so assimilation of new political elements into an intelligent body politic is a slower process than incorporation into the electorate. The life of States has always been limited, and it yet remains to be seen that Aristotle's sequence — democracy degenerating into mobocracy, to be

followed by despotism, — which has so generally held true in the past, — is not to hold true in the natural reversals of the future. Such a fate seems inevitably to await democracy wherever and whenever the masses of the people exercising political authority are not adequately trained for their work. It is herein that the hope of modern democracy lies. As the petty democracies of the ancient world and the forcibly attained democracies of the modern world, such as that of the French Revolution, have ended in autocracy, so must our later democratic efforts unless, *pari passu* with the extension of the suffrage, there is an extension of training for its intelligent use. It is the recognition of this fact that has formed the basis for the recently developed interest of enlightened Governments in the welfare of the masses, particularly along educational lines.

Increase of government functions. It is this same spur of necessity that stimulates democratic government to extend its sphere of action. Its narrow original function expanded from the protection of life and personal rights to the protection of property and property rights. But the protective attribute of Government is insufficient where popular participation in political control is tolerated. The dominant attitude of negative restraint must give way to an active attitude of positive encouragement. As the reign of force gives way to one of benevolent control, the Government must attract rather than compel support. Modern patriotism is based upon the love of the citizen, rather than the obedience of the subject. Therefore constructive measures, what Professor Ward has aptly styled “attractive legislation,” must be enacted.

Progressive Governments do not wait to be driven to action by popular pressure, but strive, in a somewhat uncertain way it is true, to direct progress along telic lines. The more enlightened the Government, the more far-seeing

and constructive and the more extensive is its program of economic and social, as well as political, legislation for the betterment of all classes. Even the intrenched governing classes in Germany followed the lead of Bismarck in his broad economic and social program, while in England they have deliberately enacted such laws as the Workmen's Compensation Act, and the Old-Age Pension Act. The United States has led in political expansion through the suffrage extensions of the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian political revivals, the enfranchisement of the negro, the granting of the ballot to women, and the building-up of political privileges among the Filipinos. With the recognition of equality of citizenship in all classes, Governments are compelled to accept the responsibility, not merely for training the electorate, but also for providing the opportunities necessary for economic and social advancement.

The State as a telic force. This expansion of the function of the State to include general welfare is a part of the general social movement toward telic control. Biological progress is genetic. The plant and animal kingdoms have evolved through the slow-working methods of natural selection by which, in the struggle for existence, the fittest survived. The same principle has held true to a large extent for psychic progress on its lower levels. But as man has progressed, as he has developed reason and forethought and has applied them to the control of his environment and his own actions, he has been able in some measure to substitute for natural selection the more effective method of artificial selection. Instead of following the direct and immediate line of least resistance, he has learned the value of indirect means to a given end and of sacrificing immediate desires for the larger satisfaction of distant and superior rewards. In other words, he has developed self-consciousness, self-control, and self-direction. These qualities inhere not only in the individ-

ual, but also in the social group. As previously indicated these self-conscious, self-controlled, and self-directed groups enlarge in size, in solidarity, and in definiteness of aim with the advance of civilization. They learn more and more to govern themselves by indirection, reason, and telic forethought. The dominant institution of any age is the one most characterized by this deliberate and reasoned direction of its own forces. It is through the use of superior telic methods that the modern State has gained and holds its control over other institutions. Government is the largest concrete expression we have of social self-consciousness, social self-control, and social self-direction.

But while Government is the most important agent of the social body, it can maintain itself only by telic control of all the forces within the State. Governments in the past have been temporary largely because they have not maintained a balance between the competing institutions within their possible jurisdiction. Social classes, the Church, commerce, war, vice, luxury, or other specialized phases of society have been allowed to flourish until they disturbed the social equilibrium. The result was that instead of the Government controlling the specialized institution, the institution became powerful enough to control the Government. When this took place the ill-balanced Government toppled before the first storm that broke. What has held true in the past is likely to hold true in the future, and the Government that allows militarism, or commercialism, or imperialism, or class favoritism to dominate, or loses its telic insight to such an extent that it is unable to act as a balance-wheel of other social forces, is doomed. Enlightened Governments must be directed, not merely by the statesmanship of astute opportunism, but must use the constructive statesmanship that has vision enough to discern the trend of events and mould the forces of the present to meet future needs. The

great danger in the rapid spread of democracy lies in the difficulty the masses show in comprehending far-sighted leadership and their inability to use prevision in judging state policies. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the masses are not specialized, and it would seem that if the Governments of our great democracies of the present will adequately supervise mass movements by the spread of intelligence and well-being, the balancing force of great numbers ought to add stability and longevity to their lives.

Education as the telic agent of the State. The problems of democracy are inseparable from the problems of education. The modern State is rapidly becoming democratic, and in order to attain stability under the new régime it must become telic. These ideas have not always been associated together, but they must be in the future if our progress is to continue uninterrupted. Moreover, democratic Governments as the telic agents of society must use telic agencies in carrying out their policies. The leading telic force within the State by which it may hope to perpetuate itself and direct the growth of society is education. So keen has been the appreciation of this fact that whenever the full privileges of citizenship have been widely extended, interest in public education has likewise become widely extended. From the days of Pericles to George Washington¹ it has

¹ A few excerpts, which might be almost indefinitely extended, will indicate the development of the consciousness of the need for state control of education: —

“No one will doubt that the legislator should direct his attention above all to the education of youth, or that the neglect of education does harm to States. The citizen should be moulded to suit the form of government under which he lives. For each Government has a peculiar character which originally formed and which continues to preserve it. The character of democracy creates democracy, and the character of oligarchy creates oligarchy; and always the better the character the better the Government.” (Aristotle.)

“For the establishment of the best schools everywhere, both for boys and girls, this consideration is of itself sufficient, namely, that society, for the maintenance of civil order and the proper regulation of the house-

been recognized that the citizen participating in the Government should be educated; but only recently has this participation been widely enough spread through the masses to make whole peoples both individually and collectively conscious of the value of universal education as a state policy. In the United States, with our widely extended suffrage and the expanding nature of the governmental services rendered, we are becoming more and more acutely conscious that citizen-training must be one of the first interests of the State. We are from time to time diluting the intelligence of the ballot by incorporating inexperienced elements into the electorate, and having to confront new problems by undertaking the management of new enterprises. The nature of our public education, therefore, becomes of vital concern to the State.

hold, needs accomplished and well-trained men and women." (Martin Luther.)

"Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." (Washington's *Farewell Address*.)

"If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization it expects what never was and never will be." (Thomas Jefferson.)

"Popular education is necessary for the preservation of those conditions of freedom, political and social, which are indispensable to free individual development. And . . . no instrumentality less universal in its power and authority than Government can secure popular education. . . . Without popular education, moreover, no Government which rests upon popular action can long endure. The people must be schooled in the knowledge, and if possible in the virtues, upon which the maintenance and success of free institutions depend." (Woodrow Wilson.)

"Man has, indeed, the right to govern himself, but without education he has not the capacity. Suffrage is not a natural right, but a privilege assigned to those who qualify themselves for its proper exercise in accordance with a standard fixed by the State. All men, except abnormals, possess the capacity for education, and when educated have the power to govern themselves and the right to take part in the government of others. Democracy means self-government; self-government necessitates universal education, and universal education can only be accomplished by free public schools under the control of all the people." (Charles W. Dabney.)

Problems of citizen-training. Merely recognizing the necessity of education, however, does not solve its problems. Just how is the citizen to be educated? What is his education to include? What emotional attitudes, what kinds of knowledge, and what sort of activities should the individual have developed in him in order that he may become a good citizen? What are the types of responsibility he will have to meet, and what are the lines of adjustment he will have to make, in order to be worthy of the privileges and qualified to fulfil the duties of citizenship? Probably we can best get at these questions by treating the education the State should provide its citizens under the four types of training required; that is, training for economic life, training for social life, training for cultural life, and training for political life. Some of these problems are treated more in detail elsewhere, but the general principles need here to be outlined.

Training for economic life. The first requisite for the good citizen is capacity for self-support. As society cannot flourish independent of its economic foundations, so the individual cannot safely lose sight of the economic means by which his expenditures are supplied. There can be no question with regard to the enormous contributions of the leisure class to the progress of civilization; but it must also not be forgotten that the particular members of the leisure class who have contributed achievements to civilization have not done so through leisure *per se*, but through the wise use of leisure time in hard work. In the earlier and lower stages of progress there was so little appreciation of original achievement that it was apparently necessary for the achieving class to exploit the masses in order to obtain freedom for higher pursuits.

That system was the basis of the genetic progress which in the animal world leads the more fit to prey upon the less fit. Such a system justified slavery, which was formerly con-

sidered necessary as a basis for the progress of freemen. As we found in later days that freemen were more useful workmen than slaves, and have multiplied economic achievement by distributing the necessity of labor through more nearly all grades of society, so we shall find that the further distribution of leisure to all classes by more amply rewarding labor and cutting down the hours of necessary work will likewise multiply achievement of the higher sort. This idea has additional corroboration in the fairly well demonstrated fact that genius inheres in race stock rather than in social classes. If the State is to substitute telic advancement for the slower methods of genetic advancement along economic lines, it must provide not merely economic opportunities for all, but it must provide an education that will enable the great mass of normal individuals to make a living without exhausting all of their creative energies in the process. In other words, it must provide a vocational training that will equip the individual worker to earn a living wage, and the inspiration to use the increased leisure additional education may, through improved workmanship, provide in promoting better economic methods and consequently increasing the economic output.

Vocational training. The nature of this occupational training for the masses yet remains to be worked out, but it must come. Professional training has already been put upon a high plane, and is revolutionizing scientific processes. The State, however, as the educational guide of all citizens, must see that the industrial training of the masses becomes as efficient for the work they are expected to do as professional training is for the professional classes. Moreover, just as large a revolution awaits industrial processes when the mechanical workers are all trained for their jobs as has come in technical and scientific processes through the training of professional men. State-supported schools must sup-

ply this training. That this fact is being recognized is evident from the interest taken in agricultural education through all grades of schools, in industrial training through the founding of industrial and mechanical colleges, in the industrial work being introduced into the high schools and the grades, and in commercial education by the establishment of schools of commerce in our universities and colleges and by the introduction of commercial studies into the high schools and even into the grades. The prosperity of any nation, and its ranking position in the competitive economic world, will depend more and more, as civilization advances, upon the scientific training of all classes of its citizens.

Training for social life. From the standpoint of the permanence and well-being of the State, training for social life ranks next to training for economic life. Many of the most pressing problems of the State are social. Just as economic progress is founded upon the intelligence of the mass of workers, so social progress is dependent upon the distribution of social intelligence among all classes. The *élite* may set standards of social conduct, but if they are to be made permanent realities, the masses must be trained to accept and exemplify them. A nation's status is no longer fixed by the ideals of the few, but by the social standards, social customs, and social practices of the many. The social morality of the few cannot save a nation; the social shortcomings of the many may wreck it. If family life, social intercourse, and institutional relations are on a low plane we may expect society to stagnate. The fall of many a State may be and has been attributed to the decay of healthful social life, and, in our more intimate and mutually dependent social organization of the present, social morality and stability are more important than ever before.

Social education. The complexity and freedom of our modern social life make special training all the more neces-

sary. Coöperation is demanded on every hand. Social relations are more or less indiscriminate and unsupervised. Choice in marriage is becoming more and more voluntary. Home life and discipline are becoming democratic, and family solidarity is based on love and good-will rather than on force. All of these things, together with others that might be added, create a social situation that is new and threatening. Pessimists are not wanting who feel that our racial inheritance is in danger. They point out that divorce is growing rapidly, many kinds of crime are increasing, and parental and social responsibility seem to be weakening. Likewise it is shown that society is dying out at the top. Altogether it is not difficult to paint a dark picture which would be wholly true were there not new curative agencies at work. But there are many of these, and social education through the schools is by no means the least.

Coeducation. Probably the most important phase of this social education comes through coeducational schools. Practically all public schools and an increasing number of all others are coeducational, and they will doubtless so remain. Social freedom is there justified by its works. Where sex differences are not emphasized, and natural relations are fostered between boys and girls, a spirit of independence and self-control is built up which demands and justifies social freedom. But mere juxtaposition and the consequent association between boys and girls are insufficient. Specific social training is needed. This is being brought about in the schools by stimulating and carefully supervising healthful extra-classroom associations. Chaperonage is becoming a new art in our modern free society. Social poise, social initiative, and social adaptability are inspired by the stimulus of constant social contact; but a full measure of personal agreeableness and social morality require the additional stimulus of careful cultivation.

Domestic economy. That indirect methods of social culture and control need to be supplemented by direct teaching is recognized in the public schools, as shown by the growth of the domestic arts as subjects of school study. Every state university and most of the coeducational colleges have given domestic economy academic standing, and have provided well-equipped laboratories and a growing teaching staff to direct the courses offered. All progressive mixed or girls' high schools are now teaching the domestic arts, and these arts are also growing in importance as elementary-school studies. Domestic architecture, household sanitation, home furnishing, sewing, cooking, millinery, drafting and design, nursing, baby culture, home and social courtesy, manners, and morals are taught in the classroom and practice laboratory. Just as telic direction of education by the State demands vocational training for men, so it likewise demands domestic training for women. In so far as the welfare of the State depends upon a wholesome and progressive society, it must provide social education as a prophylactic against domestic disintegration, vice, selfishness, snobbery, and anti-social individualism.

Training for cultural life. The third necessary phase of state education is avocational, or cultural. Every good citizen should be not only self-supporting and socially adjustable, but he should possess cultural interests. It is the extra increment of avocational utilitarianism, added to vocational success, that makes society progressive. The leisure class contributes to progress only as it elevates avocational interests into vocational accomplishments. A large share of the orators, painters, writers, statesmen, musicians, inventors, scientists, and philosophers who have made original contributions to society have done so by virtue of serious work along avocational lines. Many of them, including such men as Darwin, Spencer, Bismarck, Gladstone, and Roosevelt,

have had no vocations, but many others, such as college professors, physician-scientists, and lawyer-statesmen, have carried on vocational activities at the time they were making their avocational contributions. Inventors, artists, and *littérateurs* often do their best work for little pay and make their living by more ephemeral labors. As leisure is spread through the masses under modern improved conditions, avocations that are culturally useful must be given them and they must be inspired to employ them in both self-improvement and community betterment.

Evolution toward refinement. Human evolution shows two fundamental tendencies, one toward strength, and the other toward refinement. The one is predominantly physical and material, the other predominantly spiritual. While the spiritual is conditioned upon the material, — that is, spiritual elevation is dependent on material contentment, — an individual or a nation is judged in the long run by the higher standard of spiritual achievement. Just as in biological and physiological evolution the end in view seems to be an increase in the complexity and sensitiveness of nervous organization, so in social evolution the goal aimed at seems to be the advancement of the race by a constant increase of the domination of the higher sentiments and reason over the lower appetites and instincts. One of the legitimate fears for the democratic State is that it will not sufficiently recognize the value of refinement as an end of life, and therefore will fail to provide generously the means of cultural education to chasten and refine the spirit.

Education in the arts. For advancing the cultural ideal, education in all the arts of life must be fostered. Training in the practical arts must be given, that they may be continually refined and elevated toward the fine arts. Training in the fine arts must be given, that they may become more productive and efficient. It must be made the business of

the State to see that both of these refining agencies are made as universal as is possible. History estimates the culture of all States by the tastes and standards of its citizens, and, since modern States have conferred full citizenship upon the masses, future generations will use mass-culture as the basis of judgment. What is more specifically important to us, however, is that cultural progress in a democratic State is dependent no less upon cultural distribution than upon cultural achievement. Still further, as we have shown with reference to general achievement, cultural achievement will be slow or rapid very much in proportion to the number of people who are given the training and opportunity to do cultural work. Taste, artistic ability, and spiritual inspiration are not confined to any artificial social or economic class, but are found in every stratum of society. The raising of the general plane of artistic living should be the cultural aim of the State.

Means of cultural education are rapidly being popularized. Museums of art and science, libraries, entertainment halls, athletic clubs, and cultural organizations are everywhere springing up. Direct avocational training is now found in all of the public schools. Music, art, literature, the drama, dancing, and other means of physical culture are taught alike in the college, the secondary, and the elementary school. A foundation is thus being laid by the diffusion of the elements of culture for the era of artistic attainment that must inevitably follow.

Training for political life. From the standpoint of the State, education for political participation would be more important than for the three types of activity just discussed were it not for the fact that political training is a secondary function of each of the other types. Economic intelligence is the outgrowth of training for vocational life, social intelligence of training for social life, and cultural intelli-

gence of training for avocational life. These three phases of intelligence form the best foundation on which to build political intelligence. All political action, except that dealing with the mere structure and outer form of government, demands a knowledge of one of the other phases of life. It remains, however, for the State to protect itself by guaranteeing that each citizen, and particularly each voter, shall gain a knowledge of his responsibilities to the Government, and the methods of exercising those responsibilities, and that he develop a proper attitude toward its varied activities. The good citizen must not only obey the law; he must help to make and enforce it. Consequently explicit training is required along political as well as along the other lines.

As economic education is inseparable from the serious pursuit of an occupation, whether from necessity or choice, so political education is inseparable from participation in politics. Efficient government is probably in more danger from indifference than from either ignorance or fraud. It requires a rousing campaign in the leading nations of the world to bring out much more than three fourths of the possible vote. Most elections in the United States, especially where inherited prejudices cannot be aroused, are conducted with less than that percentage of the citizens taking the trouble to go to the polls. Party government demands a willingness on the part of the average man to sacrifice petty interests and prejudices to the larger ideals of the group, to unite with others in a party representing chosen policies, and the loyal following of able leadership. The fickleness of democracies is proverbial, and it takes constant participation in political discussion and political activities to build up inhibitive tendencies against the wiles of the demagogue. No statement could be truer than that the cure for democracy is more democracy.

But party loyalty may become either a fetish or a term of

reproach, either of which attitudes is equally reprehensible. Party government has proved itself the most efficient means of political control in democratic countries, but it is impossible without a fair degree of party fealty. Yet overemphasis upon party regularity paves the way for the party boss and "invisible government." Moreover, it frequently leads to the control of state policies by designing but well-organized interests which are able to contribute freely to campaign funds and to support well-managed lobbies. On the other hand, chronic independence would reduce democratic government to chaos. Only political education can enable the State to establish and maintain a balance between the radical and conservative forces in society and between the "mugwump" and the "stand-patter" in politics.

The social sciences. In order to preserve political balance the indirect education of political participation needs to be supplemented by specific instruction in the schools. For this purpose the social sciences — history, political science, law, economics, and sociology — furnish the most direct preparation. They provide a fund of practical knowledge concerning government, past and present, and a training in the application of this knowledge to current political issues. History furnishes a broad perspective for the study of any problem of government, and a good historical training is the best antidote to either hardened conservatism or blatant radicalism. Political science furnishes a sound basis for critical judgment of the form, function, and structure of government. The study of law gives a technical understanding of legal systems and provides a basis for practical work in lawmaking and interpretation. Economics deals with business principles and practices and lays the foundation of intelligent economic legislation and control. Sociology analyzes the forces and movements and princi-

ples of social relationship, and thus illumines the pathway of social legislation. All of these together furnish a basis for the scientific treatment of governmental problems. They are of recent origin as general educational studies, and their popularization is already beginning to show in the rapid increase of political intelligence and the idea of efficiency in governmental administration.

Heretofore the social sciences have been mainly confined to the universities and colleges. They have been offered to the selected and chosen few, and they are still unnecessarily academic, but they are now making their way rapidly into the high schools and the grades. As they are made more concrete and practical further progress will be made toward giving all future citizens a modicum of training in each. History and political science have already descended to the elementary school, and are more and more being taught in their applied aspects. Commercial and elementary law and economics are now found in our most progressive high schools. Sociology is being simplified for high-school use and will soon take its place beside the others in the public schools. Since these studies are so closely related, efforts are being made to correlate them for school use and develop a coherent basis for the political training they ought to provide. There seems to be no reason for believing that the social sciences cannot be brought within the capacity and interest of children as early as the natural sciences are through nature study, and it is certain that a scientific attitude toward government thus early engendered would do much toward stimulating better citizenship. Before popular government can reach a high degree of efficiency it must begin, during childhood, the specific training for citizenship which it later expects its mature citizens to use in political control.

Nationalistic education. The four types of training above

outlined form the basis for a complete system of state education. No State which hopes to keep in the forefront of twentieth-century progress can afford to neglect any one of them. In fact it can be stated with confidence that the nation which develops in the first half of the century the best combination of these types, together with an efficient administration of them, will before the close of the century, be exercising the most dominant influence in the leadership and direction of civilization. But this education must be general, collective, and national. Says Herbert Croly: —

Back of the problem of educating the individual lies the problem of collective education. . . . The good average American usually wishes to accomplish exclusively by individual education a result which must be partly accomplished by national education. The nation, like the individual, must go to school; and the national school is not a lecture hall or a library. Its schooling consists chiefly in experimental collective action aimed at the realization of the collective purpose. . . . No process of merely individual education can accomplish the work of collective education, because the nation is so much more than a group of individuals. Individuals can be "uplifted" without "uplifting" the nation, because the nation has an individuality of its own, which cannot be increased without the consciousness of collective responsibilities and the collective official attempt to redeem them. . . . The nation can do much to aid individual education; but the best aid within its power is to offer to the individual a really formative and inspiring opportunity for public service.¹

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. Outline specifically the ways in which government affects or has affected your school.
2. Compare the Government of Germany and that of the United States, with reference to the extent of the control each exercises over its citizens.
3. Illustrate the growth of nationalism by tracing the union of the various sections of France into a national State. Similarly trace the rise of nationalism in the United States.

¹ Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life*, p. 407.

4. Show the growth of internationalism by tracing the development of international law. Does it seem probable that international free trade will be adopted by the close of the twentieth century?
5. What reasons can you give for believing that the United States will be a long-lived nation?
6. Make a list of the constructive legislative measures enacted during the Wilson Administration. Do the same for the last session of the Legislature in your State.
7. What are the arguments for and against making the national Commissioner of Education a member of the President's Cabinet?
8. What are the arguments for and against the creation of a national university?
9. Why have States been more interested in medical, legal, and engineering education than in industrial education? Do you think this will continue? If not, why not; and if so, why?
10. Why has a curriculum especially adapted to the education of women not been worked out? Do you think that in large cities special boys' and girls' high schools will become more numerous? What are the advantages and disadvantages of such schools?
11. Could a course teaching social form, manners, and courtesy be made effective in your school? Ought such a course to count toward graduation?
12. What means are provided for avocational education in your school? Are there others needed? What suggestions can you make for improvement in the work offered?
13. What percentage of the students in your school are actively interested in politics? What percentage constantly read political news or keep informed upon political issues?
14. Are the social sciences in your institution taught with the conscious purpose of training citizens?
15. Is the ordinary civics taught in the public schools "practical"? How would you improve it?
16. Do the four types of training suggested in the text seem to you to cover all phases of the education a State should provide? Under which head would you place physics, chemistry, and biology? Classify the various departments of your school under the four heads?
17. In which ones, if any, do you think the United States excels other leading nations? Along which of these four lines is the greatest progress being made in your community?

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CHAPTER IX

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY, AND ITS RELATION TO EDUCATION

The trend toward democracy. From the first horde-like assemblages of human beings, social organization has steadily increased in complexity through the continuous extension of group relationships. These complex relationships have been fostered and vitalized by the universal trend toward democracy. Probably no other subject has received so much attention among recent thinkers and writers, nor has any other movement been more conspicuous and dominating. Every phase of our associated life is influenced by it, and every institution is being overhauled to meet its imperatives.

It is this growth of democracy that is speeding up the rate of social change which is so evident in our day. The forward rush of economic and social democracy was so overwhelming about the middle of the eighteenth century that historians have called the era the Industrial Revolution; but progress then was slow compared with recent advances. Economic and social change must now keep pace with the automobile, the transcontinental express, the telephone, the wireless telegraph, and the aeroplane. Science, art, business organization, political programs, and social selection are all being democratized and used in constant reorganizations of existing society.

Above all other institutions, the schools must recognize the principles of this dynamic democratic change. They must deal with impetuous, forward-looking youth, ever impatient with static conditions. Education must move, must

be aggressive and progressive. Teachers need a certain wholesome conservatism to balance the radicalism of youth, but this necessity has led them in the past to overstress institutional reverence, and to cling too tenaciously to traditional culture and time-honored customs. As never before, however, educators are now breaking through the shell of convention and facing present-day problems with courage and straightforwardness. As their mission has become civic and their clientèle has broadened, they have had to deal with and understand the whole public; consequently they have been infected with the democratic virus of the greatest good to the greatest number.

The ideal of democracy. Taken in its widest meaning as the development of the physical, mental, and moral welfare of all of the people, democracy may be called the goal of civilization. Every great sociologist from Comte to Giddings and Small and Cooley has dwelt upon the democratic trend of society from its beginning. This trend appears in every field of endeavor — political, economic, social, moral. In the long process of evolution from primitive savagery, through barbarism and civilization toward enlightenment, there has been a leveling-up of individual units in each social group and of groups in the larger social wholes. The dictum that all men are born equal is not and never can be true in an organic sense. Equality is a misnomer when applied to sentient beings. Nicholas Murray Butler has well said that "Nature knows no such thing as equality." But there is an eternal tendency toward the equilibration of the forces of nature and of life. In organized society this takes the form of securing for each individual and each class comparatively equal rights, privileges, and opportunities to make the most of whatever possibilities nature or circumstances have provided.

The evolution of political democracy. The evolution of

democracy is most readily seen in the political world. Among primitive men rulership belonged largely to the physically strong. Early government was dictatorial. The Oriental monarchies were all autocratic and despotic. From autocracy to oligarchy was a natural step, but it took ages to make it. Just as the select few were able to wrest power from the despot, so the struggling aristocracies of Greece and Rome, the Middle Ages, and the early modern era were able gradually to gain the ascendancy over a few oligarchical rulers. At the beginning of the nineteenth century political power in the leading nations of Europe was still in the hands of a very small minority. Even in the United States large groups of substantial men of full age were denied the right to vote. It took two successive waves of political agitation to remove the property, tax, and religious qualifications for the suffrage, and this was not done until the middle of the century. A great war was then necessary to secure the nominal enfranchisement of the negroes, and it will probably take several more generations to secure a real ballot for them.

It required three similar waves of reform to approach manhood suffrage in England, which was accomplished by the Gladstone Liberals only a generation ago. Like struggles were necessary in France to gain a voice in the Government, first for the bourgeoisie, and later for the common people. Russia shows the struggle still at white heat in the efforts of the peasants to gain a share of power in the Duma, and to give the Duma a controlling voice in the Government. And in all of these countries the attainment of the suffrage is only a preliminary step to real democracy, or the attainment of a Government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." This cannot be complete until the voters of all classes are trained to practically equal intelligence and independence in casting the ballot.

The expanding service rendered by Government. Another method of showing the growth of political democracy is to analyze the field and aim of Government. Primitive Governments strove only to protect the persons of subjects. When this function became fairly well administered, that of protecting property was undertaken. As political control improved along these lines, positive or constructive legislation was undertaken. Ameliorative regulations were made to develop the individual, and to stimulate economic endeavor. Government then gradually assumed authority over the dependent, the defective, and the delinquent classes, over education, and over many other phases of personal welfare. It likewise extended its economic sphere by attempting the control of commerce and industry. The postal service was taken over, and banking and transportation were regulated. To-day there is scarcely a phase of our business life where indirect governmental regulation or direct governmental control is not evident. This movement has been most prominent in Australia, Denmark, and parts of Germany, but it is becoming more and more prevalent everywhere. Formerly the citizen voted only for representatives, few of them, and very seldom. Now he votes for both men and measures, much and often, and the day seems not far distant when he will be called upon to take a vital part in much direct legislation, even in large countries like the United States. Democracy means, not only the rule of many, but the rule over many things, and along both these lines we may count on continued progress.

Economic democracy. Economic evolution shows just as striking a democratic advance as does political evolution. When the first savage fashioned the first rude weapon or tool, the first bit of capital was created. It was a monopoly. From that day to the present the store of the world's wealth has been increasing. Each century adds to the accumulated

store of buildings, machinery, transportation, and productive facilities. The day of want is pushed farther in advance. While the savage continually faced starvation, it has been calculated that the reserve store of the world's goods is now large enough, if it could be capitalized into the sort of commodities needed, to run the world more than five years. And every unit of this capital adds to the productive capacity of the present day. While it is still very unevenly distributed, every individual is nevertheless able to live better by virtue of its existence. The organization of industry is such that every agent of production — land, labor, and capital — is able to draw an ever-increasing return for its contribution. It is frequently stated, and careful analysis will show its truth, that the day laborer of to-day is able to live better and to get a greater amount and variety of both necessities and luxuries than the mediæval lord of the manor. Economic equality is the dream of the unfit; but the trend toward economic democracy appears in every phase of our modern industrial world.

Exploitation. That exploitation still exists is quite evident, but it must be remembered that exploitation once took the form of cannibalism, then slavery, then serfdom, and it remains to-day only in the advantage of the propertied class over free workmen. Moreover, this superiority is being overcome in a number of ways. Down to the last few centuries the lowest class of society bore almost the whole burden of government. Prior to the modern era the exclusive classes, with a few exceptions, have scarcely thought of paying ordinary taxes, and up to the nineteenth century they generally succeeded in shifting the burden to the poor. No line of democratic progress is more evident in recent generations than the changing of the basis of taxation, through property, income, and inheritance taxes, so that ability to pay will be its test, and wealth will bear a greater

proportion of the increasing burden of state enterprises. This, together with the organization of the ill-paid classes, and their increasing intelligence and advancing plane of living, will enable them to force a wider distribution of economic prosperity and a more equable distribution of property.

The advance of social democracy. The growth of social democracy is evident in the decreased reverence for biological caste. A caste system like that of India is an anomaly in our age, although it is merely typical of the societary organization of the ancient world. Hereditary classes and classes closed to the ranks below were the rule. Mediæval and early modern European society consisted of a regular hierarchy, with almost impassable barriers separating class from class. This was evident even in the clergy, where men of common birth rose to positions of honor with extreme difficulty. So closely were the privileges of birth held that it took centuries of struggle to break their defenses and destroy their power. In England the dominance of the royal family was first overthrown, and then the supremacy of the privileged lords was undermined. Titles still exist, but they are comparatively empty honors, carrying but little power and but few privileges. Lords must meet at the council table with day laborers like John Burns, who sits unabashed in their presence. In Germany, the chief internal political struggle is to establish the supremacy of the Reichstag, the people's representative organ, over the nonresponsible Government and the privileged Bundesrath. Everywhere the class distinctions based upon birth are becoming less important than those based upon merit. A scientist, an artist, an author, or a reformer has a national and an international reputation that forms an *entrée* to all circles and positions in society

This revolt against birth is especially conspicuous in new

countries, and within frontier society. Nevertheless, it had to be fought out in the United States, as elsewhere. John Adams wrote a book in which he urged that the Government should remain in the hands of "the rich, the able, and the well-born." The early distinctions between a "gentleman" and a "commoner" were strictly enforced. Where tradition was not strong enough, laws were enacted to control dress, manners, and precedence. Andrew Jackson rode into the Presidency on a popular democratic upheaval that was as much a revolt against the rule of birth and aristocratic culture as it was political. We are leading the world in an effort to open up all classes and positions to people of every grade. A stratified society is natural and will continue to exist, but there is an unchangeable tendency to substitute real worth for artificial selection in determining class standing. Social democracy is following close on the heels of political and economic democracy.

Democracy of culture. From the standpoint of culture democratic progress has been equally great. Books were formerly for the few. They were expensive, and many of the best were in a foreign tongue. Libraries were small, scarce, and inaccessible. Literature was written for the cultivated elect, and confined to a few classical forms. Now there are styles of literature adapted to every taste, and libraries open to the public in every respectable town. Magazines are published by the million, and are within the reach of the average family purse. Newspapers are published in every community. Cheap postage has made letter-writing a common art. Communication through written and printed forms has become so nearly universal that it is difficult for us to conceive what a new thing it is, and how such a large portion of the civilized world formerly got along without it.

Nor is the popularization of the other arts far behind that of letters. Access to varied forms of music is quite general.

The number of musical instruments has been vastly multiplied, and their prices so reduced as to bring them within the range of even the poor. Public concerts, school training, and the phonograph are elevating musical taste and making music a highly democratic art. Reproductions of the works of great painters, illustrated magazines and newspapers, and the use of decorative art in the home have popularized the color arts. Taste in sculpture, landscape art, and architecture is gradually descending to the multitudes. In short, the cultural progress of the masses is so great that it is not unreasonable to expect that in a few generations the fine arts will be socialized to such an extent that they will be an almost equal inheritance of the poor and the rich.

Other phases of democracy. Various other struggles toward democracy might be traced along religious, legal, customary, and institutional lines. In every phase of life, exclusiveness, privilege, and artificial distinctions are disappearing. Social organization grows increasingly complex and inclusive along four lines. It extends over ever enlarging masses; it takes on continually widening functions within the mass groups; it is carried on by increasing numbers of people composing the groups; and it aims to benefit more and more nearly all the classes within the group boundaries. The "federation of the world" is a far distant dream; but the democratization of human society which has been going on through the ages will lead us ever nearer to it.

Democracy in education. The relation of education to this democratic trend in human society is direct and fundamental. Education and democracy are bound up in an unending chain of mutual cause and effect. Each idea demands and fosters the other. More democracy means more general education, and more general education means more universal democracy. They are both mass movements, and call for mass treatment. A real democracy cannot exist

without universal education, and universal education cannot be obtained except in a democracy. Democratic education must be of the people, by the people, and for the people. It cannot be given from above. Philosophers and teachers and reformers cannot impart it. They are merely leaders, not the enshrined embodiments of wisdom to be worshiped from afar.

German education has obtained practically universal literacy, but it is instruction given from above for definite economic and military purposes, and fails to function in lifting the masses of her people appreciably above those of surrounding countries. Before that superiority can be obtained the system must be made democratic. It must be the kind of education the people want, accepted and inspired from within, and headed toward the all-round development of a free and enlightened people, self-governed and self-directed. To be really educated, a people must have initiative, a certain amount of personal independence, and the ability to organize the social structure on such a basis that they will be able, not only to multiply achievement, but to spread its benefits throughout the body politic. The German educational system has developed technical and expert leadership and a willingness to follow it never before equaled, but it has failed to develop the mass movements and coöperation necessary to the highest accomplishment.

The dead-level theory. Until very recently democracy has been feared in education, and some educators still inveigh against it. De Tocqueville, Lecky, and others expounded the "dead-level" theory of political democracy which has been carried over into education. According to this theory the great masses of the people are commonplace, and a government or social organization carried on by majorities must be commonplace and ill-directed. If laws and institutions are made by the common people they

will be adapted to their ideas and needs, and will fail to stimulate the better classes. John Burroughs points out that "constant intercommunication, the friction of travel, of streets, of books, of newspapers, make us all alike." We are reminded that dialects are disappearing, local customs are being crushed, habits are being mechanized, tastes are becoming standardized, and that the varied æsthetic and ethical ideals which have formed an experimental laboratory of progressive principles is disappearing. Education for the masses, it is said, must be quantitative, and therefore quality will necessarily be sacrificed. Where all are educated in the same system the standard will have to be adapted to the majority, and this will tend to establish a dead level of mediocrity.

It should be remembered, however, that natural selection is at work along social and educational lines as well as in the biological world. The masses naturally follow leaders who represent their better ideals. These leaders everywhere have an influence on public sentiment out of all proportion to their numbers. They are the ones who carry on the discussions which form the raw materials out of which public opinion is manufactured. The masses do not choose the most original thinkers or the most radical reformers as leaders. Neither do they always choose the best means to a desired end. But they choose as wise leaders as they can follow, and as good a policy as their intelligence can comprehend. Mass progress may be slow, but it is sure, and the early fears for democratic rule are fast disappearing before the actual accomplishments of popularly controlled States.

Democratic selection. Likewise progressive peoples have a habit of sifting out the best customs and dialects and ideals for standardization. We have lost some of the experimental value of difference in isolated individuals and remote communities, but we have gained the intensive forces

of initiative, emulation, and competition in our busy centers of work and play and social struggle. The culturists who condemn the quality of the "new education" have yet to prove that the type demanded by the masses is less worth while than the old, or that it fails to recognize and develop special talent. Highly organized education, which is possible only in large groups, would seem to be not only stimulating to intense effort and high endeavor, but, as in the industrial world, the division of labor and the specialization it permits would make for originality and particular achievement.

Moreover, as education is universalized a new idea or achievement quickly spreads. Formerly they might be buried for generations in an obscure locality. Many of the great inventions and discoveries of the human mind remained hidden for centuries behind a type of Chinese exclusion. Christianity needed the organization and world contacts of the Roman Empire to carry it beyond the Judean hills. With universal education and world communication an achievement becomes a world possession in a few hours. Progress thus becomes contagious. All the world is heir of the specialized development of any of its parts. Instead of breeding mediocrity, universal democratic education inspires all classes, and when of the right sort will lead the survival of the fittest to result in the survival of the best.

Achievements of the common people. Another factor which must be taken into account in democratic education is in the achievements of the so-called common classes. Many of the best inventions, the highest works of art, and the greatest reforms are the product of people rising from the mass. Men like Huss, Luther, Latimer, Davy, Kant, Laplace, Lenbach, Haydn, Bach, Burns, Bunyan, Shakespeare, Wolsey, Walpole, and John Bright, as well as Franklin, Webster, Lincoln, and a host of other great Americans

who have left their impress upon our national progress, show quite clearly the breadth and strength and power of accomplishment of those of common birth. Lester F. Ward, in his *Applied Sociology*, has shown comprehensively and conclusively that talent and genius are present in all classes almost equally, and that general education and freedom of opportunity will bring it to the surface. A number of studies of genius, notably that of Francis Galton and of M. Odin, have also shown that genius thrives in the great centers of population. London and Paris and other populous districts, where organization is complex and competition stimulating and inspiring, contribute much more freely to the ranks of genius than do the same numbers of people in sparsely settled communities. Contrary to a traditional belief the city is shown to be not only the Mecca of leaders of thought, but the best place as well in which to be born. The chances of great accomplishment are enhanced by the better educational facilities and the group inspiration within the reach of all classes of the people.

Evolutionary nature of achievement. An analysis of the nature of achievement itself also shows the value of mass development. Every great undertaking is the result of social, as well as of individual, work. World-conquering ideas do not spring full-grown from the brain of individual men. They are accretions from many sources, or genetic developments of a series of thinkers and workers. Great men merely form the crests of waves of advancement. The discovery of America was the outgrowth of an era of exploration and adventure, and must have taken place shortly if Columbus had never been born. A number of inventors, each building upon the success of his predecessor, were necessary to perfect the steam engine. The heavier-than-air flying machine has been a process of invention, and only now shows promise of becoming commercially useful. Slavery

in America would have been abolished without Lincoln. Martin Luther with his theses was only an episode in the foundation of Protestantism. The more scientists, artists, statesmen, and reformers at work, other things being equal, the greater the advancement along any and every line. Whatever will increase the number of thinkers, innovators, and achieving leaders will increase progress. Every extension of educational opportunity will aid in the accomplishment of this purpose, and the more social and coöperative the training the greater will be that progress.

Democratic nature of present world problems. One other phase of democratic education should be suggested here. The leading movements in every nation to-day are clustered about some form of popular control. Problems like that of more detailed and effective regulation of private business, as in the trust problem in the United States; collective ownership and operation of public utilities, such as the telegraph, the telephone, gas and lighting service, traction service, railroads, insurance, and pensions; Irish, Polish, colonial, and municipal home rule; direct legislation through the initiative, referendum, and recall; the extension and guarding of suffrage privileges; international organizations for the promotion of scientific knowledge, peaceful intercourse, and general good-will, — such problems are typical, and many of them are universal. They are new in the world's history, and indicate the spread of interest and intelligence among the common people. Whatever we may think of the outcome, the masses are rising and demanding control, and they now have the power to get it.

Necessity for a wide distribution of intelligence. What is true in governmental affairs is not less true of social and institutional affairs. As was formerly pointed out, there is a universal struggle to undermine artificial social distinctions and privileged orders. Popular control and public support

is demanded in charitable and eleemosynary institutions. Ecclesiastical independence is growing everywhere in the Protestant churches, and even the centralized hierarchy of the Roman Church is losing something of its pontifical domination. The supremacy of aristocratic centers of learning, such as Oxford and Cambridge, and Harvard and Yale, is disappearing before the rise of democratic city, state, and national universities and research foundations. Our fundamental public-school problems center about efforts to make education attractive and profitable to all classes, particularly the poor, the alien, and the deficient. None of these governmental, economic, and institutional problems can be solved merely by producing great men. They depend also upon the wide distribution of intelligence. The masses must be inspired and trained to act together in party and class organizations. This can be done only by recognizing fully the democratic nature of education, and by giving the child, from his earliest years, abundant practice in coöperative activities in ever-enlarging groups.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. Compare the great inventions that led to the Industrial Revolution with those of the past half-century.
2. Read chapter XII in A. R. Wallace's *The Wonderful Century*, and compare the achievements of the nineteenth century with those of all previous centuries.
3. Compare the school-teacher of to-day with the teacher of half a century ago, and note specifically the differences.
4. Illustrate N. M. Butler's statement that "Nature knows no such thing as equality."
5. Make a study of the extension of popular suffrage in England and France. (See F. A. Ogg, *Civilization in Contemporary Europe*.)
6. Make a similar study of the growth of popular suffrage in the United States. (See A. B. Hart, *Actual Government*.)
7. What is your State Government doing now for its citizens that it was not doing a quarter of a century ago? Your city?
8. Illustrate the fact that your generation is living better than its grandparents did?

9. Is there a greater difference between the rich man and the average man in your community than there was a generation ago?
10. Show specifically that the boys and girls of to-day have greater access to the fine arts than did their ancestors.
11. Illustrate by examples from our national history that the common people are wise judges of leaders. (See discussion of the contribution of the masses: C. H. Cooley's *Social Organization*, chap. XIII.)
12. Mention some great inventions of early ages that remained unused because of popular ignorance or superstition.
13. Illustrate by the development of the automobile that complex inventions are developed gradually.
14. Why is the genius lonesome? Would popular understanding of his work make him more efficient in performing original work?
15. Show the relation between education and the use of the initiative and referendum.
16. Does democracy demand popular election of technical officials, such as state supreme judges and state school superintendents?

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CHAPTER X

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MODERN SCHOOL

THE general sociological phases of the school as an institution have been brought out in connection with the discussion of other institutions. Before passing to the application of the sociological point of view to our specific educational problems, however, it is necessary to get a connected view of educational history, and of the evolution of our modern school systems.

Informal education. It should be remembered in approaching the study of educational evolution that it did not begin with the schools. Informal education, as shown among savage and barbarous peoples, existed for thousands of years before any formal system of training was established. Training of the young which must be recognized as education exists even among animals. Conscious training is a human product, however, and educational systems exist only among civilized peoples. Savage and barbarian education — even that of early civilization as well — was irregular and uncertain, while that of advanced society is fully institutionalized. Many valuable lessons might be learned from the naturalistic training of the savage; but there are many more important ones at hand, and so we may well confine our present inquiry to developments within the period of recorded history, following the trend of education as a consciously recognized institution.

The fundamentals in educational evolution. There have been three fundamental lines of advance in our educational development. These are, first, the extension of educational advantages from the select classes to the masses; second, a

gradual change in the subject-matter and methods of education from the adventitious and purely cultural to the realistic and useful; and third, the transfer of education from private to public control.

1. *Extension of education from the classes to the masses*

The educational pyramid. For the sake of concreteness, let us take the usual conception of society as a pyramid of social classes. In order to suggest the comparative numbers of the different classes, it is necessary to represent the sides of the pyramid with concave lines, as shown in Fig. 3. At

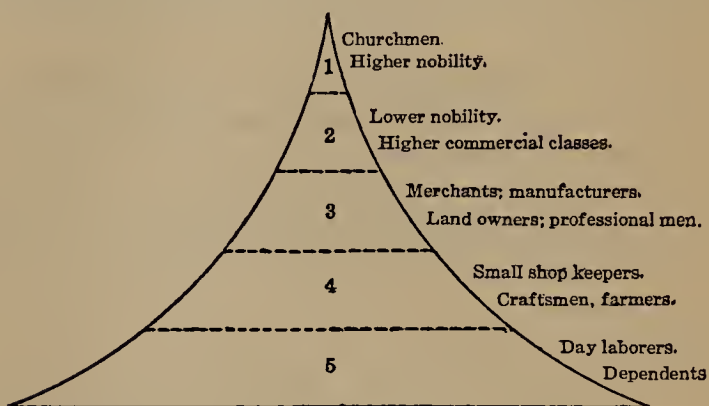


FIG. 3. ILLUSTRATING THE SOCIAL CLASSES

The concave pyramid suggests comparative numbers. Formal education began at the top, and has slowly worked downward.

the top of the pyramid we have the higher nobility, — first the churchmen and then the lay nobility. Next comes the more numerous lower nobility and the higher commercial classes. The third group is composed of the upper-middle classes, including the well-to-do merchants, manufacturers, untitled landholders, and professional men. The fourth class is made up of large bodies of the small shopkeepers, craftsmen, and farmers. Finally, we have the most numerous class of all in the day laborers, and partial dependents.

Educational history summarized. Formal education started at the top of the pyramid and has slowly worked its way downward. The first schools were organized by and maintained for the very select few. In Oriental nations the priests were generally the teachers, and also the chief beneficiaries of education. Some religious instruction was quite general among the Jews, and certain traditional lore was handed down in a formal manner by other peoples, but it was quite limited in amount. It was in the Greek States that the idea of any wide extension of education first took root. The culmination of the movement toward general training was in the Athenian democracy, but it should be remembered that the much-heralded Periclean Athens was, in reality, an oligarchy based upon slavery. At least four out of five of her inhabitants were slaves, and many others were unable to reap the benefits of her schools. Nevertheless, the wide extension of her citizenship, and the democracy of educational privilege within that citizenship, was something not again attained for more than two thousand years.

The Roman Republic showed initial tendencies toward popular education, but her imperial dreams undermined attention to the masses. Following the downfall of Rome the chaos of the Dark Ages almost blotted out the culture of the past. Education reverted to the Oriental status, where priests alone were the custodians of learning. Even the priests were almost inconceivably ignorant. Hallam states that in the time of Charlemagne not more than one out of a thousand of the Spanish clergy could read, and that in England under Alfred the Great only a small portion of the priests could understand the Latin of the service. These conditions, however, were gradually improved, and education was not only extended widely among the clergy, but it began to be demanded by the higher lay nobility. Thence

it passed to the lower nobility and, by the opening of the modern period, the more studiously inclined among the well-to-do commercial classes were able to gain some of the benefits of organized instruction. From these larger groups it gradually came within the possibilities of the ambitious and able of all classes.

As education was extended down the social pyramid, the clerical monopoly of the teaching function was broken. Lay teachers found their way into the universities and aided in broadening the educational ideal. The secularizing of parts of the curriculum led to an increased appeal on the part of the universities and monastic schools to a wider clientèle. This enlarged demand led to the founding of many new schools, and paved the way for a more general education than had been known since the triumphant days of Athens.

New modern educational needs. The first tidal wave of modern popular education, however, came with the Industrial Revolution, which began just after the middle of the eighteenth century. The ushering-in of the machine age, with its transfer of industry from the home to the small shop and the factory, changed the whole economic aspect so radically as to affect, in numerous ways, both social and intellectual life. Prior to this time the average man gained his training through apprenticeship to an occupation. Apprenticeship usually lasted seven years, and gave the individual some training, not only in performing the mechanical processes incident to a trade, but in buying raw materials, marketing the finished product, and dealing with men and society in such ways as to develop a certain amount of initiative and judgment. With the coming of the factory the differentiation of labor allowed each workman to perform day after day a simple task, at which he could become an expert in a short time. This cut down the period of apprenticeship from seven years to a few months. At the same

time it limited the number of things a man learned to do, thus narrowing his work interest and curtailing the value of his occupational training. If the artisan class were not to be reduced to mere machines under the new régime, some means of training must be discovered to take the place of the very practical education formerly acquired through apprenticeship. Formal education was now widely enough spread to beckon them into its open doors.

New working conditions demanded broader training. Other reasons for the spread of education among the industrial classes were not wanting. The ingenuity and skill required in production through power machinery called for trained minds and rewarded their possessors liberally. Leaders with adaptability, knowledge, and foresight were needed to forward industrial organization. Increasing prosperity enabled workmen to pay for the education of their children. The shortening of the period of apprenticeship released several years of youthful energy. Additional leisure was acquired through the reduction of hours in the day's work. While much of this extra time was exhausted in child labor, and through idleness and dissipation in the newly acquired city environment, a considerable part of it went into the schools. The consequent enlargement of the active demand for education led to an unprecedented increase of facilities for popular instruction. For the first time in history the idea of educating the manual laborer began to take hold of the imagination. It remained, however, for the nineteenth century to see actualities outstrip the fancy of the boldest of the earlier dreamers, and to attempt the heroic task of bringing about universal education.

Education of women. The popularizing of feminine education has been even more recent than that of masculine. None of the Oriental nations realized the educability of

women. Greece, Rome, and mediæval Europe were almost equally wanting in respect for women's intellectual possibilities, and provided no formal training for her. It was only after education for men had become general that women began to be admitted freely to the schools. Only a generation or two ago there were grave doubts in the public mind as to the possibility, and even more as to the advisability, of any extended education of women. Coeducational schools were rare, and most of those for women were inferior. All these fears have since been dissipated as women have been admitted to a place beside men in classrooms, from the kindergarten to the university. Starting centuries later than man, woman has won a place of equality with him in our schools, and even threatens to outstrip him in attaining universal literacy.

Conquest of illiteracy. How great has been the progress at the base of the educational pyramid is shown by the recent rapid disappearance of illiteracy. In France, in 1790, 63 per cent of those registering for marriage were unable to sign their marriage certificates. In the decade from 1901 to 1910 only 4.1 per cent were unable to do so. In England, in 1843, 40.85 per cent of those applying for marriage licenses signed the marriage certificate with a mark, while in 1905 only 1.85 per cent did so. As late as 1875 the percentage of army recruits in the German Empire who could neither read nor write was 23.7; in 1908 it was but 0.02 per cent. Italy was one of the last of the larger European States to accept popular public education. In 1861, at the creation of the Italian Kingdom, three fourths of her population were illiterate, and in Naples and Sicily the proportion rose to more than ninety per cent. By 1901 this had been reduced to 48.2 per cent, a reduction of more than one third in forty years. The United States has more than cut her percentage of illiteracy in half in the last thirty

years. Census illiteracy figures in recent decades were 20.0 per cent in 1870; 17.0 per cent in 1880; 13.3 per cent in 1890; 10.7 per cent in 1900, and 7.7 per cent in 1910.

At the present rate of progress illiteracy will have practically disappeared in the leading nations in thirty years. But dispelling illiteracy is only a first step in the march of latter-day educational progress. The masses will not be satisfied with the mere ability to read and write. They will desire knowledge, training in skill, and the elements of culture. One increment of education calls for another, and we may be assured that they will follow the more favored classes in steadily lengthening the educational period and filling it with materials adapted to their needs. Free education will grow in extent until the masses will occupy, in a few generations, the cultural plane now reached by the better educated classes.

2. Evolution of the utilitarian curriculum

From form to use. The second line of development in our formal education has been the gradual substitution of the real and the useful for the adventitious and purely cultural in our school programs. Whatever of organized education existed among barbarians was generally of an incidental nature, and emphasized class distinctions. Form and ceremonial were its staples. The ecclesiastical training among primitive civilized peoples was more extensive, but was very similar in kind. It dealt freely with the occult, and preserved an air of mystery about its methods and its virtues. Introducing reality into the teaching content and openness and directness into teaching method was a slow process, but it gradually came about as those of the priesthood were compelled to depend more and more for their superiority upon wisdom founded upon knowledge. Reading and writing, literature and the fine arts were cultivated;

mathematics and the elements of science were taught; and disputations upon great human problems were held alongside others of a purely factitious interest. An intangible alliance with statesmanship and commerce, particularly where records were demanded, gradually came into being. Along with much that was remote from ordinary human association, the educational novice was given some knowledge of a practical sort and a certain amount of training for higher living in a real world.

It was not until the rise of Greece, however, that any great breadth or reality was infused into the educational ideal. As Greek democracy expanded, the necessity for citizen-training became apparent. Schools were established whose purpose was not merely cultural, but utilitarian in the larger sense. They strove not only to promote the higher arts, but also the useful arts of statecraft, commercial skill, and athletic prowess. Nor were they lacking in efforts to inculcate the moral virtues of temperance, sanity, good nature, and generosity. Greek education was passed on to Rome, where it became even more utilitarian in aim, although more narrow in curriculum and less widely extended through the populace. Certain moral virtues were added, however, in the development of greater loyalty and stability of character.

Mediaeval education reverted to the ecclesiastical type, narrow in purpose, formalistic in discipline, and limited in amount from the standpoint of knowledge, teaching equipment, and the length of the training period. The mediaeval schools taught a little bad Latin, some emasculated philosophy, a modicum of second-hand science, and a great deal of church formulary and polemical theology. Toward the close of the Middle Ages the Renaissance and humanistic revivals immensely enriched the curriculum, but dialectic and dead materials predominated far into the modern era. It was only the readmission of the laity into the universities

and the recoupling of education to statesmanship and commerce that led to any great broadening of the course of study or any wide ramification of the schools.

Training for leisure *versus* work. The liberalizing of the elementary schools was even slower than that of universities. They were generally supported by churches or conducted by private teachers for pay, and their appeal for patronage was put upon a religious or polite-training basis. The great public schools of England and the preparatory schools of the Continent were originally either ecclesiastical or rigidly aristocratic in clientèle. Moreover, they long remained almost wholly classical and religious in curriculum, with little of life interest to attract the children of the masses. Only as the proletariat were offered the privileges of education and were trained to accept them were the curricula revised to fulfill the larger mission of the schools. This could not be brought about until the Industrial Revolution ushered in a new economic régime, and political and social democracy became the ruling ideals of large numbers of men.

Just as it was left for the nineteenth century to approach universal education, so it remained for the very recent past to accept the idea of realism and utility in school work. By slow and painful struggles the incidental was replaced by the fundamental, the politely cultural by the usefully cultural. When curricula were devised for the leisure class the training offered was for leisure-class usage. For them leisure time was more important than work time, and the education desired was one that would enable them to spend more happily, and perchance more profitably, their leisure hours.

As education passed down the social pyramid the ideas of what training for life ought to be were found to be different. To those who face a severe economic and social struggle for existence work time becomes more important than leisure time. Consequently, as the working classes entered the

schools, it became necessary to revise the program of studies to meet their needs. They must be trained for efficient work more than for cultivated leisure. Educational leaders thereupon began to add studies of a more definitely utilitarian type. Law, medical, theological, engineering, and other courses were differentiated in the universities. Normal schools, commercial schools, agricultural schools, and industrial schools for pupils of secondary grade followed. In all of these occupational schools technical skill, rather than culture, became the dominant motive in teaching.

Changes in subject-matter and methods. Accompanying the rise of professional and technical schools, with their emphasis on the idea of efficiency, came a revision of aim and method in the ordinary curriculum. The old general-culture courses were filled with new material, and taught with more specific purposes in view. Elective studies of a practical nature were offered and taken with avidity. Teachers of mathematics, languages, and philosophy began to emphasize the applied aspects of their subjects. More practical arithmetic and less geometry, more of the vernacular and modern languages and less of the ancient, and more psychology and less metaphysics were demanded. Likewise more of constitutional and less of Roman law, more hygiene and less anatomy, and more ethics and less theology were taught in the schools. The physical, biological, and social sciences found their way into our curricula, and extended rapidly downward from the university through the college, the high school, and into the elementary-school grades. Moreover, in all of these fields the subject-matter, the illustrative materials, and the methods of teaching have decade by decade become more real, more specific, and more closely associated with the activities and needs of daily living.

Downward extension of studies. Up to a very recent date the regular method of evolution in a particular study was

its introduction at the top of the curriculum, in a highly theoretical state, whence it slowly worked its way downward as its application to life was made more manifest. Most of the standard studies in our elementary and high schools have taken this course of development, but it is a slow and painful process. Each of the lower grades in the downward movement of a study must at first accept it as it has been outlined for and given to the grade above. In the hands of conservative teachers, trained in conservative institutions, as the schools have generally been, adaptation is difficult. Thus the lower grades have had to accept work prepared for others in the higher grades. Likewise, as education has widened to include the masses, each new social class entering the schools has had to accept a curriculum prepared for the social estate above. The educational program devised for the leisure classes had to be made over for the professional classes, and that in turn revised to meet the demands of the laboring classes. This double burden of adaptation from the higher to the lower grades, and from higher to lower social strata, has kept school curricula continually a generation or so behind the existing needs.

Recent upward extension. While the problem of adaptation is by no means solved, the universalizing of education has brought in a new method of evolution that will help. Studies have recently been introduced at the bottom of the educational scale. After proving their value in the elementary grades, they are slowly making their way upward through the high school, the college, and the university. Manual training, shop and trade work, drawing, musical practice, commercial work, and to some extent domestic science and art were introduced into the grades from private and philanthropic schools and are forcing their way upward into the colleges and universities.

The former tendency of the public schools to accept the

curricula and methods handed down from above is now threatening to be reversed. Educational domination, like political domination, is gradually passing into the hands of the masses, and unless the institutions of higher learning accept the situation and assume a rational leadership, they will have to accept popular dictation. They must recognize the rightfulness and value of this second form of educational evolution. The educational expert must heed the voice of the public, and the public must be trained to accept the leadership of the expert. The masses want education for occupational efficiency and for citizenship, education for the sphere of life which the individual must occupy, in short, what they would term practical education, and they have the power, which they are rapidly learning how to use, to direct our educational system to that end.

3. Development of state educational control

The third great trend in our educational evolution, that from private and institutional to public control, has kept pace with its universalization and its practicalization.¹ Primitive education centered almost wholly in the family. As the clan and tribal organizations became more definite and fixed, certain ceremonial functions in the way of education were taken over and conducted by groups of elders. Many Indian tribes have initiation ceremonies in which tests of physical skill and endurance, mental alertness and ingenuity, and moral fitness are applied to the young candidate for full tribal recognition. These examinations presuppose definite training for the duties of tribal citizenship.

The Church in early education. In early civilizations the

¹ There have been some minor exceptions to this trend, particularly in some of the Greek States, where education was almost purely a public affair, but as a universal movement there can be no doubt of the validity of the above claim.

first institution to gain control was the Church. Before the rise of enlightened governments the Church was the most cohesive social organization. The priestly class was early differentiated, and took the necessary steps to perpetuate itself. One of the most stabilizing agencies at hand was education. What more natural than that they should assume charge of it? They did so, and not only assured themselves of permanence and superiority, but through it, no less than through ecclesiastical channels, they rendered their great services to civilization.

The movement toward civic control gained its first impetus in the Greek States. There the Governments of Athens and Sparta gradually assumed educational functions for the specific purpose of developing a trained citizenship. Spartan training was more completely under state domination than that of Athens, but was not so liberal in content. While Rome inherited, or rather imitated, Greek education, the Government took little part in it and it rapidly degenerated. With the fall of Rome the whole system crumbled into ruins, and the culture of the ancient world sank into obscurity for a thousand years.

Growth of universities. Our modern educational systems have evolved slowly from the degeneracy of the Middle Ages. What was left of ancient culture had reverted to the Church. Mediæval education was conducted by monks in the monastic schools, very largely for the benefit of the clergy. Gradually studiously inclined men outside ecclesiastical circles began to attend, and, as their numbers increased, to demand that more attention be given to secular studies. The curriculum thus broadened attracted still larger numbers of laymen, who soon became strong enough to secure the establishment of universities not dominated wholly by priests. Charitable bequests were matched by royal subsidies given to found legal, medical, and scientific lecture-

ships. The building-up of such universities as Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Wittenberg, and Prague led to new scholastic freedom. Speculation became bolder, theological dialectic lost its supremacy to a newer philosophical inquiry, liberalism became a cult, problems of government took their place beside problems of the Church in university circles, and the future alliance of the schools with the State, rather than the Church, began. Only one more step was necessary to reach the conception of the modern tax-supported state university.

Development of public schools. Following the liberalizing of the university came the liberalizing of the elementary schools. In England such old foundations as those of Winchester, Eton, and Harrow were primarily church schools, but they gradually grew less ecclesiastical in discipline. While the teaching force long remained clerical, the student clientèle became largely secular and they gradually evolved into the so-called "public schools" of a later day. These in turn were paralleled by real public schools, supported by state subsidies. The policy of granting state subsidies was not begun until 1833, however, and they were small in amount until a much later date.

Similar movements toward secularizing education took place on the Continent. They began with the educational reforms of William von Humboldt in Prussia in 1809. As the State advanced in importance and cohesiveness, as compared with the Church, the function of the schools in the development of citizenship began dimly to be seen. Private and church foundations lost their ecclesiastical significance in competition with the newly created public schools. Training for professional efficiency as well as for the saving of souls, for statecraft as well as priestcraft, for commerce, for culture, and for leadership in every phase of life that gives a nation its supremacy, became the goal of education.

Such a conception demanded not merely occasional government subsidies, but continuous state support. This came about almost imperceptibly, one step at a time, until by the close of the nineteenth century education had become a definite civic function, organized into a system of tax-supported schools extending from the kindergarten to the university.

The extent to which education has passed out of private institutional control into the hands of the public is shown by a glance at the great national school systems of the present. Germany has a unified, governmentally dominated system from top to bottom. France has not only developed a highly centralized state system, but has recently disestablished the state Church and with it the state-supported ecclesiastical schools. In England, every decade finds the public schools gaining on the church schools in patronage, in equipment, and in respectability. Also the great popular city universities are challenging the supremacy of Oxford and Cambridge. Our own public schools are carefully safeguarded against church or other private influences, and are growing in equipment, power, system, and universality. They now enroll over ninety per cent of our younger pupils. Our state universities are showing enormous growth, government-aided agricultural and technical schools are everywhere gaining in strength and influence, and, municipal colleges and universities are the newest outgrowth of public education to promise large usefulness in citizen training.

Assumption of new educational functions. Public education is not only becoming more universal, but it is demanding a longer period of service and is continually assuming new functions. Formerly the elementary schools contented themselves with a few abbreviated years of drill on the fundamentals of reading, spelling, writing, and number. Then

geography, language, history, and physiology were added. Now we are revising these studies, filling them with up-to-date materials, and adding new studies, such as the domestic arts, manual training and shopwork, drawing, literature, civics, and more or less of the physical, biological and social sciences. The elementary curriculum is filled with eight years of serious study, to which are now added four years of high-school work. Not content with this, many of our cities are offering two years of advanced training in college or technical work. From the old public schools of limited range, requiring only a few months each term for six or eight years, we have gradually evolved a system of public schools beginning with the kindergarten, at four or five years of age, and graduating the pupil thirteen to sixteen years later.

The extension of the public-school course both in breadth of materials and in length of attendance indicates the new functions these schools have assumed. They now attempt, not merely to give the pupil familiarity and skill in the use of the tools of learning, but to add a wide range of information, the elements of general culture, and a certain amount of the technical training needed in the home and in the industrial world. Nothing short of efficiency in every phase of citizenship can satisfy the State.

Nor is it a matter of choice whether or not the child will be exposed to the offerings of the schools. Compulsory attendance is the rule in most civilized nations. The compulsory-school age in Germany is from six to fourteen, and in France from six to thirteen. Forty-three of our States now have some sort of compulsory-school law. These are gradually being made more inclusive and more effective. Moreover, there is no reason to suppose that the near future will not see the compulsory-school age raised, from the present general level of fourteen or fifteen years, to sixteen and later to eighteen years of age. All this means a continued increase

in school taxes, and additional responsibilities on the part of the schools; but it also means a higher type of citizenship, and a rate of economic and cultural progress little dreamed of in the past. Our present public educational plant, with more than half a million teachers, with a billion and a half dollars invested in equipment, and an annual budget of over five hundred million dollars, will be doubled in a few decades and then keep on growing. The enrollment of nineteen million pupils will likewise be doubled; in fact, the growth of continuation work and extension classes for older people leaves the mind an unlimited field for speculation as to the proportion of our population that will be enrolled in some form of school work under public control half a century hence. As its authority and control have been distributed to the people through popular suffrage, the State has been compelled to take over education as a matter of self-defense; it now extends and directs it as a matter of self-development.

Mutual dependence of the agencies of improvement. The three fundamental movements in our educational evolution above outlined have not been separate either in time, place, or spirit. Rather have they gone hand in hand, each contributing to the progress of the other. The universalizing of education demanded its practicalization, and each of these called for public support. As the State grew in centralized power and extended its function, its ideals and purposes came to include, in a general way, the work of all other institutions. It sought to become a telic agent directing the forces of human society with all-round progress as the goal. It could not succeed in this without assuming charge of the greatest of all the moulding forces of life, that of the training of the young. Thus the moving processes of educational advance have focalized into the modern democratic State.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. Make a study of education among American Indians.
2. Analyze the work of education among the Hebrews at the beginning of the Christian era.
3. Make a study of apprentice training in some such industrial establishment as the Baldwin Locomotive Works, the General Electric Company, or the Sante Fé Railway System. Compare it with the training of apprentices in the seventeenth century.
4. Compare the schools for women in your State with coeducational schools and colleges.
5. Trace the history of illiteracy in your State, using the United States *Census Reports*.
6. Analyze the curriculum of the mediæval university. (See histories of education.)
7. Trace the rise of either law, medical, or normal schools in the United States. (See Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education*.)
8. Take one or more of the ordinary school studies, and show how their applied aspects are receiving more attention than formerly.
9. Show how at least one study has been forced into the curriculum by social pressure, outside the school population. (See W. A. Jessup, *The Social Factors affecting Special Supervision in the Public Schools of the United States*.)
10. Analyze the joint control of education by the Church and the State in England to-day.
11. Compare the number of students in church and other endowed colleges in your State with the number in state institutions.
12. What new studies have been added to the better high schools in your State in the last twenty years?
13. Compare the compulsory-education law in your State with that of Massachusetts, or New York? What improvements could be made in your State?
14. Compare the amount spent by your State Government for education with that for all other purposes. The same for your city.
15. In what way do you think the greatest educational progress is now being made in your community?

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PART II
EDUCATIONAL APPLICATIONS

CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL SURVEYS

Need of educational adaptability. In Part I the sociological foundations of education have been elaborated, and the application of certain general sociological principles to the existing educational situation have been pointed out. It remains now, for the second part of this volume, to apply whatever light the foundation principles may afford to the illumination of specific educational problems. In doing so it should be remembered that sociology has no cure-all to offer for our educational ills. It recognizes and emphasizes the fact that education is a complex social problem bristling with difficult, uncertain, and controverted questions, and that these questions are not to be settled by a dogmatic assumption of superior knowledge, or by the use of any particular methods or any fixed programs of action. A great human institution such as education must grow, and must change its structure, spirit, and methods as it is affected by the continued action and reaction of the forces within itself upon an ever-changing social environment filled with competing forces. Thus, the school must gain support from without, must build its internal organization in harmony with social demands, must utilize whatever aid its environment offers, and must be able to compete with other social forces. It must change with the requirements of each age, and, therefore, presents continuous problems which are not to be solved with finality, but which need to be met with all of the intelligence that the sciences can provide.

Education as a science. It is the recognition of the gravity and complexity and variability of its problems which has

created the new attitude of educators toward scientific procedure. Informal education, being largely dominated by feeling, partakes more of the nature of a creed than of a science. Even early formal education showed few traces of scientific insight, and hostility to scientific procedure has not as yet wholly disappeared. It is only within the last generation or two that definite attempts to formulate a science of education have been made.

A science must be based upon at least three things: (1) reasoned hypothesis; (2) experimentation; and (3) testing of results. Something of the first element has long existed in education; the second is not wholly new, though it is only recently that the method has been used on any extended scale; while the third represents the work of the past decade, and has not as yet been accepted and acted upon by the rank and file of educators. Much has been done, however, to develop open-mindedness among teachers, and the leaders in the profession have begun to originate and apply rigid scientific methods.

Hypothesis and experimentation. In regard to the principle of reasoned hypothesis, educators are becoming more sane and careful, and will base their work on better foundations as the applied sciences of educational psychology and educational sociology become more specific and exact. In regard to the principle of experimentation, it may be stated that educational leaders everywhere are beginning to experiment with varied programs of study, original types of discipline, new methods of teaching, and new modes of affiliating the schools with other social agencies. Experimental schools are being founded in many places. Such schools as the former Dewey School in Chicago, the Francis Parker School in the same city, the Ethical Culture School in New York, the Preparatory School of the University of Missouri, numerous elementary and rural schools connected with

normal schools, training high schools connected with our university schools of education, and a variety of industrial, agricultural, and reform schools are as much experimental as they are utilitarian in aim. Also many of our public schools — such as those at Gary, Fitchburg, Boisé, Los Angeles, and Cincinnati, for example — have incorporated certain experimental features in their work. The attitude of experimentation is in the air, and everywhere progressive school men are ready to adopt any plan that seems feasible and promising. This variety of experiment, coupled with publicity of results and open-mindedness on the part of the school public, is opening up an era of progress toward scientific procedure never before known. It is breaking the fetters of tradition which so long shackled the academic mind, and is freeing teachers from the too-frequently just accusation of narrow-mindedness and pedantry.

Scientific tests and measures. The idea of testing and measuring results is quite new, and has opened up a very promising field for future effort. Means of testing and measuring results in the different school studies are being devised and applied in a scientific manner. Several writing scales have been perfected; tests for determining the effectiveness of instruction in the fundamental operations of arithmetic and algebra are now available; and silent reading tests, drawing scales, spelling tests, composition tests, and other measuring sticks are at hand. In addition, many studies have been and are being made to determine the words most frequently misspelled by children in the different grades, the grammatical mistakes most frequently made in particular communities, and the type of problems in arithmetic most frequently arising in the local business world. On the results of such investigations the construction of future textbooks and the outlining of supplementary school work to fit the needs of particular localities must be based.

It is on the basis of such studies that pupils can be intelligently prepared to meet the demands of the society which they are to enter. From testing the school subjects the idea has expanded, and to-day almost every phase of school work is being subjected to scientific tests to determine its educational utility, the efficiency with which it is being conducted, and the value of its contribution to community life. Many of these efforts are doubtless crude and some of them blundering, but they are aiming in the right direction, and when they are perfected they will give to educational work a scientific quality which was formerly considered impossible. They are adding the objective phenomena and the inductive method to the subjective experience and deductive method which so long served as the sole basis for judging educational questions.

The social survey. To this trend toward the scientific in education sociology has much to offer. It has developed scientific formulas and methods for dealing with many of the types of phenomena with which education has to deal. Of these methods probably none is more fundamentally important than that of the social survey. The term "survey" is borrowed from the engineering world, where it means an examination of the form, extent, and position, or the condition, quantity, quality, and value of land areas. As applied to a particular society, a survey is a study of its history, structure, purposes, activities, and environing conditions, together with a critical estimate of its values and usefulness. Such a survey as that made by Mr. Charles Booth of the London poor, or that of Mr. Rowntree of the city of York, or the Rockefeller Foundations' Survey of Pittsburgh, requires a minute study of every phase of the life and environment of the people within its purview. Just as the land surveyor uses the plans, principles, and knowledge of his science, so must the social surveyor use the instrumen-

talities, plans, principles, and scientific knowledge built up by the sociologist. In addition to this study of existing conditions the social survey implies an analysis of the trend of events and an outline for constructive use in purposive improvements. The attempt of the engineering survey is to apply the principles of engineering science to the study of material forces and phenomena for the purpose of aiding in their control; the attempt of the social survey is to apply the principles of social science to the study of human forces and social phenomena in order to map out programs of social control and social development.

Types of survey. Still another parallel may be drawn. Engineering has differentiated into various types, such as civil, mechanical, mining, and electrical. In the same way social engineering has differentiated into such types as industrial, philanthropic, religious, and educational. We are developing the business efficiency expert, the charity expert, the religious-efficiency surveyor, and the educational surveyor. The purpose of each of these experts is to analyze conditions as they are, compare them with the best conditions known, and map out the program of improvement necessary to bring the existing conditions up to the highest standard attainable. To undertake such work with any hope of success requires a high quality of intelligence, coupled with a wide knowledge of the sort of phenomena under consideration, judicial-mindedness, and a sincere desire to advance the particular institution surveyed. When properly done, however, it lays the foundations of a telic program of improvement, based upon scientific data, and, when further developed and perfected, ought to work a revolution in the wide world of social service.

The educational survey. Social surveys may be general or particular, grading all the way from the business invoice or the government census to the elaborate and detailed

study of certain types of community life, as in the Pittsburgh Survey. The general social survey provides the basis for the school survey with which we are here particularly concerned. This is a study of one phase or division of the activities of a community or society.

An educational survey is a detailed examination of certain phases or of all parts of a school system.¹ It may be state- or nation-wide, or confined to a single county, city, or school district. It may likewise be simple or elaborate. The annual reports of city, county, and state superintendents may embody something of a survey, but they are too frequently unscientific, often are made from a prejudiced standpoint, and sometimes are published for partisan purposes or for self-aggrandizement. However useful they may be locally, and however carefully they may have been made, they embody an inside view of school affairs which ought, in order to be scientific, to be supplemented by the outside view of experts who are in no way interested in the personal or local side of school affairs. Many school surveys have been made within the past five years, and they promise to contribute much toward the evolution of a new type of public school administration, under the direction of technical experts corresponding to the efficiency engineers in the business world.

History of the school survey. The school survey origi-

¹ The Committee on Standards and Tests of the National Education Association defined a school survey as "an inquiry concerning public education which seeks to acquaint the public with all of the educational agencies supported in whole, or in part, by public moneys, with respect to their organization, administration, supervision, cost, physical equipment, courses of study, teaching staff, methods of teaching, student body, and results as measured by the achievements of those who are being trained or have been trained therein." The committee further state that "such an inquiry must, of necessity, reach conclusions in terms of the aim or purpose of education, and may not fail to relate present achievement of the school system to the sources of support now utilized or which may be made available."

nated less than a decade ago. Prior to this a few investigations of school systems had been made by special commissions, appointed for that purpose by governors, mayors, or boards of education. An example of this type is that of the Educational Commission which reported on the schools of Chicago, in 1897. These investigations were more or less general, were frequently biased, and were usually quite unscientific, but they paved the way for the more detailed and more scientific surveys of later years.

The first Boisé Survey, made in 1910, may be taken as the beginning of the recent type of survey. It was undertaken at the request of the Board of Education for the city, and dealt with the school buildings, teachers, course of study, organization of the schools, and the attitude of the community toward the schools. To show the development of the school survey it may be stated that this first Boisé Survey was the work of but one man, and for but one week. So effective did it prove, however, that only three years later the same city employed three experts, whose work would be unquestioned and whose recommendations would be authoritative, to repeat the process and give further advice.

Following the Boisé Survey came the Baltimore and the East Orange Surveys in 1911, and the New York City Survey, begun during the same year; and a large number have been undertaken in succeeding years. Perhaps the most important of the recent surveys have been the Bridgeport, Portland, and Springfield Surveys in 1913; the Butte, Leavenworth, and San Antonio Surveys in 1914; the Salt Lake City Survey in 1915; and the Cleveland and Denver Surveys in 1916. Each carefully directed effort laid foundations for other surveys, and bases for scientific comparisons and conclusions were established. From the larger cities the idea has spread to the smaller cities, and has been taken up by whole States. Vermont, Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan.

Minnesota, and Nevada have already completed or now have surveys under way.

These surveys vary widely in completeness and in the comprehensiveness of their reports. The first Boisé report was six pages in length, while that of New York City filled three massive volumes weighing sixteen pounds, and the recent Cleveland Survey is to comprise twenty-five small volumes. Most of the published reports make not only a finding of facts, as found in the particular city surveyed, but also lay a broad foundation in educational theory for the constructive program which they map out for future development of the school system.

Initiative for a school survey, and personnel. The initiative in securing surveys has come from a variety of sources. Sometimes they are brought about by outside pressure for reform, sometimes by school boards or teachers to meet criticisms thought to be unjust, sometimes by progressive boards to see if the schools are measuring up to the proper progressive standards, and sometimes by superintendents and teachers to secure reforms that otherwise seem impossible of attainment on account of the conservatism of the community. The financing generally comes from the board of education, but in certain cases it has come from philanthropic sources, and, occasionally, partly at least, from the teachers themselves.

There is some difference of opinion as to the persons best adapted to the work of surveying a particular school system. Some educators urge the advisability of the survey being made from within; that is, by the officers of the school and the members of the teaching staff. This system has the advantage of sympathetic insight into local conditions, of requiring special study of progressive methods by local school officials, and of arousing the spirit of enterprise in the surveyors themselves necessary to eradicate the evils ex-

posed and to put through the constructive program outlined. On the other hand, this plan offers the danger that the educational viewpoint will be too narrow, that the surveyors will be prejudiced, and that personal relations will prevent full expression of needed truth. Moreover, it is contended that the advantages are more than counterbalanced by the value of the disinterested view which can be given, in the school survey as in the social survey, only by an outsider. The services of educational experts usually can be obtained for the short time necessary, and the breadth of view which they bring to the task, the broad insight which they have regarding general educational problems and practices, and the basis for comparison which men trained and experienced in such work possess, may well have greater weight in securing public confidence than the judgment of local officials.

Another plan, promising great usefulness, is to have a combination of both. The major part of the work might then be done by local officials, under the direction of the experts the schools of education could supply.¹ The outside experts then outline the plans, assist in dealing with doubtful phases of the work, and aid in mapping out the program of reconstruction or development decided upon. This plan offers greatest advantages when directed by the university or some other centralized agency of the State, and has the added attraction of cheapness when contrasted with the outside expert plan. It is most useful when there is a gen-

¹ Dean F. J. Kelly, of the School of Education of the University of Kansas, has outlined plans for a continuous survey of the local school systems of the State, under the direction of the state university. Blanks calling for certain studies of the local schools are sent out to such superintendents as desire them, to be filled out according to instructions. The results are tabulated by the university instructors and then sent out to the cooperating cities. By this means it is expected that each superintendent will be able to compare his own returns with those from other cities, and that thus certain minimum and maximum standards will be established.

eral local desire for improvement and guidance; where serious local disputes are involved, the safest plan is to have no local persons connected with any phase of the survey.

Scope of a school survey. Just what a school survey is and can reveal can best be illustrated by giving an outline of an actual survey. For the sake of simplicity it may be well to take one of a smaller city. The most complete of these smaller city surveys is that of Leavenworth, Kansas, conducted by the Kansas State Teacher's College, in 1914. It was financed jointly by the Teacher's College, the Board of Education of Leavenworth, and the teachers of Leavenworth. An outline of the survey report may be given under seven heads: —

1. *A Brief social survey of the city.* This included: (1) a brief analysis of the historical foundations of the city; (2) a study of its population, including the foreign-born, racial complexity, social classes, occupations, and the relative economic status of its people; (3) the industrial life of the community; (4) the institutional life; and (5) the general social spirit of the community.

2. *The school plant and equipment.* This included: (1) Buildings and grounds; (2) light, heat, ventilation, and fire protection; (3) physical equipment, including such items as blackboards, drinking-fountains, toilet facilities, etc.; (4) laboratories, library, and classroom equipment; (5) janitor service, and other means of care-taking; and (6) grading, equipment, and use of the playgrounds.

3. *Organization and administration.* This included: (1) school control, with particular reference to the selection, duties, powers, and actual work of the school board; (2) financial support of the schools, including taxation, budget, business administration, comparative cost, etc.; (3) methods of selecting the administrative staff; and (4) the relation of the school board to the teaching staff and to the community.

4. *The teaching staff.* This included: (1) qualifications, appointment, and tenure of teachers; (2) improvement of teachers in the service; and (3) methods of supervision by the superintendent, principals, and special supervisors.

5. *The school population.* This included: (1) the school census;

(2) attendance and records; and (3) promotions and progress through the schools.

6. *The program of studies, and the efficiency of the teaching.* This included: (1) organization of school units in the system; (2) an analysis of the curriculum, showing the time, cost, and the emphasis placed upon the different studies; (3) efficiency of classroom instruction, as measured by objective tests, visitation, and conferences with teachers;¹ (4) special features needing emphasis; and (5) the community life of the school, including discipline, social life, teacher-pupil relations, and athletic, literary, dramatic, and musical societies.

7. *The relation of the schools to the community.* This included: (1) Adaptation of the instruction offered to the needs of the community; (2) parent-teacher organizations and school visiting; (3) coöperation of the schools with the home, the business world, and other institutions of an educational nature; (4) extension work of various kinds, such as night schools, graduate work, vacation schools, and part-time work for those who have dropped out of school for some particular reason; and (5) vocational guidance and employment methods for the placing of graduates, and for follow-up work to aid them in later life.

Such an outline covers the field in brief, and gives a good idea of the broad general scope of a school survey. Changes in plan probably would be necessary when applied to particular situations elsewhere. An analysis of any of the surveys published, or a reference to the *Thirteenth Yearbook of the Society for the Study of Education* (part II, pages 26-59), will give further details. Moreover, it is not necessary that every survey be so full and complete. Sometimes a partial survey of some particular phase of school work may be undertaken when an extended survey is impossible or undesirable.²

The values of a school survey. The values of a school sur-

¹ In Leavenworth every teacher was visited while at work, and several by more than one surveyor.

² The 48-page *Report of a Survey of the Organization, Scope and Finances of the Public School System of Oakland, California*, made in 1914, is a good example of a partial survey.

vey are both specific and general. A properly made survey may render aid to: (1) the teachers; (2) the administrative officials; (3) the board of education; (4) the public; and (5) it should be of service to education in general by supplying valuable material for comparison and study in developing educational theory. We shall consider each of these values in order.

(1) *Value to the teacher.* The benefits the teacher should derive from the survey are manifold. In the first place, it should provide him in so far as possible with a critical estimate of his successes and his failures. If this be considered the work of the superintendent and principal, it should be remembered that the intimate and permanent relations of teacher and administrator are such as frequently to render the perfect frankness that should exist impossible. The surveyor may well be able to supplement the work of superintendent and principal in estimating the comparative successes and failures of the teacher, and in suggesting methods by which the proportion of failures may be reduced and the proportion of successes increased.

In the second place, the survey should provide certain tests and comparative data by which the teacher can scientifically review his own work. It should indicate minimum standards which pupils under given conditions may be expected to attain. The survey should stimulate the teacher to apply such standards to his work, and continually measure it by the highest standards obtainable, rather than by the more circumscribed ideals of the local community.

In the third place, the survey should aid the teacher to better orient himself as to the general plan and purpose of public education. Most of the surveys up to date have made broad analyses of the aims, methods, and principles of education, as they have been outlined by educational leaders, and have applied them to the local situation in such a way as

to enable the teacher to see more clearly his work in relation to the educational process as a whole. Such analyses become of special importance when they aid teachers more fully to understand their particular work in relation to the work of others in the local system of which they are a part. As teaching becomes more and more specialized, the need for this orientation becomes more imperative.

In the fourth place, the survey ought to bring home to the teacher, in a vivid way, the fact that teaching is an expert service for which expert training is required. Merely general training is no longer sufficient. Constant study of progressive methods and ideals and frequent contacts with the broader professional spirit, particularly as exemplified in professional schools, should be emphasized as a basis for professional advancement. Wherever the scientific spirit has been injected into school work the tendency of teachers to continue advanced studies is noticeable, and everywhere the survey tends to stimulate attendance on summer schools and other means of training-in-service. Properly made surveys ought not only to discourage the incompetents, but ought to encourage those most fit to renewed effort and inspire them to higher preparation for more efficient service.

(2) Value to the administrator. From the standpoint of the superintendent and supervising force the survey ought to provide an outside view of the work for which they are responsible, but which from necessity they must view from the inside. The superintendent and principal must deal with concrete situations and with the personal side of school life, and their work should occasionally be supplemented by the general views and impersonal attitude of the surveyor. A judicious surveyor can sometimes clear up personal situations beyond the reach of local administrators.

Again, the surveyor, approaching education from the

general standpoint, should be of distinct service to local leaders in outlining programs of development, to be carried out through a number of years. If the superintendent and principal have large views of the aims and methods of education and keen insight into local possibilities, the survey ought to confirm and add the weight of outside expert authority to the methods in use and the plans outlined for future development. Under less favorable conditions the survey should act as a stimulus in expanding local ideals, and aid in formulating policies in harmony with progressive educational tendencies.

Another value to administrators, sometimes overlooked, arises from the fact that superintendents are generally better trained and more progressive than the rank and file of the teachers in their charge. Hence the survey may well render aid in stirring up the lethargic spirit that not infrequently settles like a pall over a school system. A situation not infrequently arising, and one where a survey can render valuable assistance, is that where the superintendent comes new to a school system in need of a regeneration, and where a large number of the teaching staff have been long in the service and have strong local followings. If such teachers oppose a new progressive policy, the weight of expert outside authority is a valuable leverage in the hands of a progressive leader in demanding reorganizations and readjustments. In the same way the voice of conspicuous authority may be used to aid the administrative and teaching force in educating a reactionary school board into higher ideals regarding school work, and in stirring up a parsimonious public to a more liberal support of its schools.

(3) *Value to the school board.* From the standpoint of the board of education the survey should enable them to check up their own work, as well as the policies, plans, and methods of the experts under their charge. Members of school

boards are generally more willing to do the right things than they are intelligent and well informed concerning the wise things to do. In our popularly controlled school system men are elected to board positions on account of their general intelligence, rather than because of any special training or fitness for the particular business in hand. Not infrequently they have some ulterior purpose to gain by such service, and they either take their office too lightly or assume authority that should be delegated to the school administrators.¹ The line between the work that should be performed by the non-technical boards and technical school authorities is not definitely drawn in this country, and boards often assume the appointment of teachers and the outlining of policies that can be performed properly only by expert administrative officials. The survey has in some cases succeeded in properly delimiting the respective fields of the two forces, and thus aided in developing greater efficiency and harmony in the relations of the board on the one hand and its expert officers and teachers on the other.

Not only does the work of the board need careful scrutiny, and discussion regarding its limitations and the best methods of executing its trust, but the confirming or dissenting voice of the non-interested expert will enable a board to act more wisely than it otherwise could in aiding or checking the policies of the administrative force. All of the information that the board is able to obtain from expert educational authorities will not be too much to give it an adequate insight into the moving forces of a rapidly developing science of school administration. In addition to such aid in dealing with the larger problems of school organization and administration, the added increment of power given by expert

¹ A large part of *The Portland Survey* was taken up with a discussion of the proper work of the board and of the school officials, and in emphasizing the necessity of a realignment of authority.

outside authority should be of much assistance to a school board in dealing with a public all too ready to find fault with any progressive action taken and to withhold the financial support necessary to provide good schools.

(4) *Value to the public.* To the intelligent public, interested in providing the best opportunities for its own children, the school survey ought to be of distinct service along two lines. First, it should provide a complete analysis of the school system as it is, and as it should be made. This analysis, when published, furnishes a mine of valuable information to the interested patron who has neither the time nor the educational perspective necessary to keep up with the newer movements in education, and who needs guidance in forming judgments even in local school matters. It thus serves as an educative force in enabling parents to know just what is being done for their own children, in comparison with what is being done in other communities of similar nature and size. It should also acquaint the patron with the needs of the schools, and thus pave the way for more liberal and more intelligent support of needed reorganizations and expansions.

In the second place, it should give valuable sidelights on the degree of efficiency with which local schools are conducted. No one is more interested in good schools than the parents of the children in attendance, and this intensity of interest often leads to an unduly critical attitude toward the schools. A constructive school survey should help to convert a part of this destructively critical attitude into a constructively critical attitude, which may form the basis of that helpful public sentiment so necessary to wise and progressive public school administration. Schools which are so responsive to public sentiment as are those in our democratic system must depend for their efficiency upon general school intelligence on the part of the public, and the effi-

ency expert in education must aid the ordinary citizen in developing this intelligence. For this purpose the voice of the disinterested surveyor can greatly add to the work of local school men, whose living depends upon salaries supplied by this public and whose disinterestedness might therefore be questioned.

To summarize, the value of a school survey to a particular community is large. It ought to serve as both a stimulus and a check upon the public and the school board for the benefit of the teaching force, upon the teaching force and the public for the benefit of the school board, and upon the school board and the teaching force for the benefit of the public. Altogether the methods and spirit and work of the school survey should serve as a source of inspiration and progressive school intelligence to every person interested in educational advancement. It should not be forgotten, however, that it is but a temporary expedient, and that what is needed is means within the school system for making it continuous, with periodical checking-up by experts from the outside. Its value as now conducted may be roughly compared with the religious revival, which has its purpose in reaching a people who are as yet unprepared for continuous application of the means of religious inspiration. When education shall have been reduced to a more exact science, continual means of testing results and of expert direction will be devised and the survey will become merely a part of ordinary expert examination and administration.

(5) *Value to educational science.* A final element not to be overlooked in estimating the value of the survey lies in the body of exact data collected and collated by the surveyor. Educational theory in the past has been empirical. Philosophy, theology, metaphysics, and an empirical psychology have been used in constructing a system of education for a hypothetical childhood and youth which never

existed. As psychology has become more scientific and its application to education has developed an educational psychology, we have been searching for exact facts on which to found a system of education that will fit the individual as he is. Since educational sociology is coming to the aid of educational psychology, with its special emphasis upon the social aspects of human nature, and is demanding more exact data on which to found a broader educational theory, a greater and greater body of facts must be collected from the field of practice and experiment. Until the rank and file of educational administrators are scientifically trained and inspired, the occasional or the periodic survey will furnish the best collection of educational material to be had, and hence may be considered one of the chief agencies for the training of educational leaders and the proper development of sound educational theory.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. Distinguish carefully between the science and the art of education.
2. To what extent can education ever be reduced to an exact science?
3. Write a report on Booth's London Survey, Rowntree's York Survey, or the Pittsburgh Survey.
4. Make a study of the educational survey of one of the States, such as Vermont, or Ohio.
5. Examine the last report of your state superintendent of schools, and report to what extent it is an educational survey.
6. Make a class report on one of the city surveys, such as New York, Butte, Cleveland, Portland, Salt Lake City, San Antonio, or Leavenworth.
7. What are some of the specific things that you think might be accomplished by a school survey of your school district or city?
8. Analyze fully the advantages of a survey made by local authorities under expert direction, as compared with a survey made by outside experts.
9. Do you think that a regularly employed efficiency expert to advise teachers and administrative officials, and without any authority to act, would be a valuable addition to educational efficiency in a city system?
10. How would you go about getting a school survey in a rural district? In a small city?

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CHAPTER XII

SOCIAL FACTORS IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION

To assume that educational sociology when fully developed will have a definite effect on school administration is merely to assume that there can be a science of educational sociology. Its influence will reach, not only the technical phases of internal administration, but, even more, the general phases of public administration. Its contribution to what we may call the "teaching function" has been frequently touched upon, and will be more definitely treated in later chapters. We shall therefore be concerned here only with some of the leading features connected with the general administration of our public schools.

Educational psychology has been and will continue to be interested in developing principles and inspiring practices for the instruction of the individual child and the control of individual relations in the school system. But many of the problems of administration are concerned rather with groups and group relations. This is especially true with reference to the community aspects of public school administration. Hence, we must look to educational sociology for the larger view and for the definite organization of the principles and methods required in the general administration of educational affairs. It ought to be helpful to the science of administration by bringing to bear on educational management the principles of democratic management found effective in other democratically controlled institutions. Likewise it should aid practical school administration by

encouraging alliances of the school with other social agencies, and by applying the principles of sociology to the solution of everyday administrative problems. The use of this sociological point of view in the reorganization of the work of our schools may be called the "process of socialization."

1. Fundamental principles of public school administration

In a democracy such as ours there are two fundamental principles which ought to be observed in public school administration. The first of these principles is that of guaranteeing equality of opportunity to all pupils, and the second is that of securing democratic efficiency of management.

Equality of opportunity. In regard to the principle of equality of opportunity it may be premised that schools which are supported by general taxes and operated for the welfare of the whole public must be open to the children of all citizens on equal terms. This is not such a simple administrative problem as it might at first appear, and implies at least four fundamentals.

The first of these is that tuition shall be free. After a century of struggle this very obvious principle has been adopted as the almost universal practice. The second fundamental is that convenience of access to our schools must be universal. This requires not only the proper location of schools, but also partial or total support of those who could not otherwise attend. If such circumstances as poverty or other misfortune stand in the way of a reasonable education, the State must provide a way. This is now being done by such devices as free textbooks, health supervision, free luncheons, mothers' pensions, the distribution of necessary clothing, etc. Just how far this benevolent paternalism should go is an open question, but in practice the amount of aid granted has continually increased, and in time will

doubtless go farther than the most progressive of our cities now realize.

The third fundamental required by the principles of equality is freedom of choice in the courses offered. If our curricula are differentiated into a variety of courses, and in every city there are from three to six or more of these courses provided, each student, with the aid of parents, teachers, and such other advisory agencies as may be established, must be allowed free preference. In Germany, and to a certain extent in all socially stratified nations, one's occupation and consequently his educational training are largely decreed for him by the social position of his parents. The fundamental ideals of education in a democracy forbid this, and the American spirit as fostered by our public schools must guard carefully against any increase of social stratification. Consequently, in so far as the selection of an occupation and the choice of a particular course of study, either in the grades or the high school, determine social status, the schools must be absolutely neutral. No industrial course must be imposed upon the children of the poor, nor any select course on the children of the more favored classes.

The last fundamental implied in equality of opportunity is a more equable distribution of the amount of free education attainable than we have as yet secured. If the eight years of the elementary school are to constitute the minimum standard, then the length of the school year must be unified. Children in one community must not be cut off with five or six months' annual schooling, while those in neighboring communities have access to a nine- or ten-months' term. Again, if a twelve-year course is to be the standard, then full-time high schools must ultimately be made accessible to all.

Democratic efficiency. The second principle which must be exemplified in the administration of our public schools is

that of universal democratic efficiency. By democratic efficiency is meant such a degree of regulated and continuous efficiency as the democratic method of control can supply in an imperfect society. The perspective with which the expert views life is always a little too inflexible to reveal all the lights and shadows, the heights and depths, and the near and distant plains of the social panorama, and hence he is overcritical of its revelations. Democratic government can never rightly be judged by absolute standards until universal education has produced much higher mass levels than humanity has as yet shown. Popular control rises from the people, and can never get much above them. When not fettered by tradition and not interfered with by autocratic authority, however, it should be broad, conservative, and adapted to as rapid improvement as the masses are capable of. This, though, will never satisfy the expert. The scientist and the efficiency-engineer will always be able to pick flaws and find wastes in the democratic control of any institution. Carefully regulated and authoritatively directed government, a bureaucracy, always looks more efficient than it is because human beings will accept dictation without being essentially influenced by it. On the other hand, self-government, or democratic control, may not have the appearance of complete efficiency, but it comes from within and the struggle to obtain it leaves its impress upon the person or institution governed. Hence democratic efficiency will always be less tangible than autocratic efficiency. It must be traced beneath the surface and tested by the double standard of smoothness of operation and the effect of the institution upon the people operating it.

Autocratic *versus* democratic organization. An illustration of the democratic, as compared with the autocratic, ideal of school efficiency may be seen by comparing the American with the Napoleonic system. When the Emperor Napoleon

was confronted, in 1806, with the necessity of having a French citizenship trained to accept and perpetuate his imperialistic ideals, he outlined, with true Napoleonic grasp and directness, a logical system of schools centered in the University of France. Everything was to be systematized and directed from imperial headquarters. All of the children of France were to be taught the same things in the same way and at the same identical time. Such rigidity of organization was never carried into effect, but the idea led to the later French school system, which is the most highly centralized in Europe. From the National Minister of Education authority radiates through the academic districts to the Departments, thence to the Arrondissements, and finally to the small Communes. From the mother schools to the University all is graded and regular. It is a beautiful administrative scheme, but it can succeed only in so far as it can be made to fit unlogical human nature. Later modifications of the scheme have been mainly in the line of variations to enable it better to fit the needs of the youth of France, and flexibility in the organization has recently been eagerly sought.

On the other hand, the administration of schools in the United States has been almost without system. The people, though, have had certain educational ideals, and from a chaotic variety of schools and methods and administrative schemes we are now evolving a body of doctrines and an administrative machinery that will compare favorably with those found in the older nations. Our schools and methods of control have been indigenous, have come up from the people, and have improved steadily as the citizenship has gained in intelligence and culture. The American public school is our most characteristic cultural product. Our people have made it, and it has done no little to make them. Educational responsibility has been largely local,

and the necessity of providing for its own children by each community has led to a universality of educational sentiment and a liberality in the support of schools found in few other countries. Upon this democracy of sentiment we are building a democratic system that promises more for the education of the masses in the future than the educational system of any other people.

Rising standards of efficiency. Our educational systems, though, must meet higher tests of efficiency in the future than they have had to meet in the past. We have not only international competition to meet, but we have trained up a citizenship that grows more critical and more expectant each year. The slipshod methods and traditional materials of the past no longer satisfy. If scientific management will add to efficiency, then scientific training and scientific methods must be obtained. The masses may be slow to understand the value of scientific control, but when the lesson is once learned we may be sure that they will appreciate it and demand it in the same way that they learned to appreciate and demand universal education. As the masses have learned the value of the expert in industry, so they will learn it in education, and as they learn it in education they will demand it in government. Thus the reciprocal influence of government on education and education on government will continue to elevate a democratic citizenship which will in turn demand and provide democratic efficiency in the control of each public institution. Furthermore, as the autocratically governed nations are being compelled year by year to accept more popular standards in administration, so the United States must accept more of the standards of efficiency which have so far been more easily applied under centralized bureaucratic control.

2. Phases of general school administration

The two fundamental principles outlined above, that is, equality of opportunity and democratic efficiency, must be applied to the various phases of general school administration. These phases may be treated under three heads: (1) control by the public; (2) control by the boards of education; and (3) the teaching staff of the schools.

(1) **Control by the public.** The first element in direction by the public is the administrative unit for control, which involves questions of size and administrative coördination.

Four types of local administrative unit have existed and are still to be found — the school district, the township, the county, and the city. The district system originated in Massachusetts, where town government was indigenous, and has spread throughout the country, but the isolated district with complete local autonomy has been found to be very unsatisfactory. Under it many communities have failed to provide adequate school facilities to meet the demands of a growing people. Consequently the process of centralization has been begun by substituting the township for the district as an administrative unit. In the South, where county government was the original type, the process of centralization led to the adoption of the county as the unit for school administration. This started in general with a certain amount of county supervision through a commissioner, and has, in several States, developed into complete county control. The city as an administrative unit, which is in a sense only a district grown large, has existed from the beginning and has grown in importance with the rapid urbanization of our people.

Growth in state control. Local autonomy remains the rule in the United States, but there has been a steady growth in state supervision. Early state constitutions, while noting

the need of education, made no definite provision for its encouragement or control. Later constitutions showed the growth of educational sentiment by placing upon the legislature the responsibility of aiding education, and providing a certain amount of machinery for state supervision. Every state in the Union now has a state superintendent of public instruction, known by this or some equivalent title, and a few States provide liberal support for the state educational office. A few decades ago the state superintendent was merely an educational statistician, poorly paid and with little office assistance. Now he frequently is an administrative official with large responsibility and power. In many States he certifies all the teachers, and has much authority over the grading and standardization of the schools. Nearly every State supports a state university, many have separate agricultural and mechanical colleges, and all of them have one or more state teacher-training schools. Many States also have large public school funds, and make annual appropriations in aid of public education, which are distributed to the various local units within the State under specified conditions. Everywhere the State as an educational force and as an administrative unit is becoming more important.

The Federal Government in education. While the Federal Government has shown little inclination to interfere in educational affairs, it has nevertheless done much to encourage special phases of education. Land grants and subsidies have been given to the States for the support of their systems of public schools. The organization of the Northwest Territory, in 1787, began the policy of setting apart one section in each township for the support of schools, and this plan has been followed in the organization of later States. The Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890, the Experiment Station Act of 1887, and the more recent acts providing for support,

have provided liberal aid to the States for agricultural education. A National Bureau of Education was established in the Department of the Interior in 1867, and placed in charge of an expert commissioner. No supervisory authority over education was given him, but his leadership has been of such an enlightened sort that it has materially influenced our educational theory and practice. Provision for enlarged service has recently been made by increasing the appropriation at his command, and it is only a question of time until the bureau under his charge will be erected into an independent department and the commissioner given a seat in the Cabinet. This is the practice of most of the European Governments, and a movement to bring it about is now being fostered and is likely to be successful at any time. When successful it will increase the services of the Federal Government to the States in the matter of public education, probably will place more authority in the hands of the department head than is now given to the Commissioner of Education, and will be an important step in the direction of that coördination of effort and unification in national endeavor which our various state, county, township, and district school systems now so much need.

Such a variety of geographical and governmental units for the control of public education as we possess creates a serious problem of coördination. Effectiveness demands coöperation between national, state, county, and district officials. The process of unification and centralization demanded by the growth of our schools will doubtless continue, and mutual understanding and sympathetic consideration on the part of each agency concerned with administration will become more and more necessary as time goes by.

Financial control. The second element in the administration of our schools by the public is that of financial control.

Heretofore each district has been largely independent in its financial management. Some localities were liberal, some parsimonious, some wealthy and some poor in proportion to population, and some well managed while others were wastefully managed in the matter of the funds procurable. As a result the principle of equality of opportunity could not be enforced. The equalization of facilities so far as possible for all pupils demands that larger financial districts be organized, and that funds be distributed more directly in proportion to the units of cost in the training of pupils for citizenship. Because the taxable wealth of one district, particularly where interstate corporations pay a large part of the local tax, is larger than that of a neighboring district, is not a fundamental reason why its school funds should be larger. Public schools are conducted for the pupils rather than for the taxpayers, and must take more account of population than of wealth.

Moreover, the principle of democratic efficiency also demands greater centralization of fiscal management. Expert financial administration requires that financial control be in the hands of people who are carefully selected and habituated to the management of monetary affairs. Better management can be secured by making the county the financial unit than where the district is independent in financial matters. In such matters as the planning and erecting of buildings and in the purchasing of supplies the county unit can secure economies impossible for isolated districts. What is true of the county as a unit is even more true of the State, along lines in which state administration is feasible. Consequently there is a growing tendency on the part of States to take over certain phases of financial, as well as of legislative, control.¹ Efficiency in financial management under our

¹ One of the controverted questions now before the public is state choice and prescription of textbooks. In two States the textbooks are even pub-

democratic system demands a continued increase of unified control and expert advice.

Method of control. The third element in the administration of our schools by the public is in the method by which the control is to be exercised. Pure democracy of management is impracticable in supplying any expert service. Therefore the public delegates its authority to a selected body of elected or appointed officials — directors, trustees, or board members. The typical school district is managed by three popularly elected school directors. These directors select the teacher, supply the equipment, and act as trustees for the public in administration of the schools. Under township management township trustees are elected, and under county control a board of education is chosen to represent the whole county.

Each city also has its own popularly elected or appointed board of education. Where cities have complete local autonomy the size and authority of this board is determined locally. Other cities are classified by size, and the number, methods of election, and powers of board members are determined by general state law. Sometimes the number of members in the larger cities has been quite high,¹ but there has been a tendency in recent years to lower the number to some small odd number, such

lished by the state printer. Whether or not state choice of textbooks is sound in principle is a disputed question, but state choice is not so objectionable if the books are chosen by proper methods, and liberality of substitution and in the use of supplementary books is allowed. The chief arguments for state selection are uniformity — an argument which disappears when free textbooks are provided — and state regulation of price. This latter does not necessarily involve uniformity, and much less state publication. State publication is much more difficult to manage. The question of copyrights and of high-grade printing are knotty problems for the public to control, and better results than have yet been attained will have to be shown before the plan can be called successful.

¹ Philadelphia once had a school board of 559, Boston of 214, Pittsburgh of 90, and Cincinnati of 50.

as five or seven or nine, in the interests of administrative efficiency.

Selection of the school board. Applying the principles of equality of opportunity and democratic efficiency to the choice of board members, there are several conclusions to be drawn.

First, members of these boards should be elected because of their qualifications for the particular service they are to render, rather than on account of their general standing in the community. They have technical work to look after and should possess special adaptability for understanding and promoting it.¹

Second, they should be chosen to represent the whole district rather than a part of it, or the whole city rather than specific wards in the city. Big enough men should be selected to guarantee that they will not represent factions, sectarian causes, or selfish interest, but will look to the educational welfare of the whole community.

Third, board membership must be independent of partisan politics. This means that candidates should be nominated without reference to their attitude on national questions, and voted for because of their specific merits. A particularly vicious type of partisanship has frequently arisen where each political party, by virtue of mutual understandings, has been allowed a definite number of members of the board. In such cases party bosses have generally been able not only to dictate nominations, but the lack of contest made those nominees certain of election.

A final important conclusion is that board members should be elected for long terms, only a part of the membership should be changed at one time, and they should be reelected

¹ This statement should not be interpreted to mean that former teachers would make the best board members. Frequently they are found to be the least progressive members on a board and their experience is likely to make them dictatorial.

as long as proper execution of duty and willingness to serve will permit. It takes the average citizen several years to gain any real insight into the needs of schools, to be able to aid in mapping out permanent and progressive policies, and to meet intelligently the administrative problems continually arising in educational affairs.

(2) Work of the boards of education. The second phase of the administration of schools by the public is their control by the boards of education. After the trustees, directors, or board members are elected, they represent the public, and must be responsible to it for the control of the schools. In many cities they not only almost completely control the schools, but also have full control of the tax levy for school purposes. Their powers are thus extensive and their responsibility is great. For this reason they should be and are generally representative of the best citizenship of the community. They are the intermediaries between the masses of interested but untrained citizens on the one hand, and the trained school experts on the other. Consequently their duties are varied and somewhat undefined. Their authority is almost coextensive with that of the public they represent, but their knowledge of the details of educational theory and practice is also almost as limited. This creates a problem of jurisdiction for the educational sociologist to define—that is, to outline the extent to which this immense authority should be exercised directly by the untrained board or delegated to the trained supervisory corps.

Jurisdiction of the board. In the attempt to solve the question of jurisdiction a large variety of practice has grown up. Some boards have themselves exercised so much authority that the teachers under their charge have been reduced to the suppliant rank of servants. Others have delegated so nearly all of their authority to the teaching force that the office of director has been made one of insignificance.

Between these two extremes there is a middle ground where the consensus of opinion and of actual practice is crystalizing, and where the will of the public and that of the supervisory expert are satisfactorily blended. Out of the multitude of existing practices a few principles may be gleaned.

In the first place, it should be remembered that the board represents the whole public, while the school officer and teacher represent only the school public. The general public is responsible for the conservation of all institutions of which society is composed; the school superintendent only one, but in that one he is an expert. Therefore, whenever the interests of the larger public are preëminent, the board as its representative must have the final word of authority. Likewise, when the interests of the school public, consisting primarily of the body of existing pupils, are preëminent, the board should delegate its power to the representatives of the teaching force. For example, the general public, either directly, or through its board, must determine the amount of its total income that is to be spent for the support of schools; but in the spending of this money the voice of the expert should be dominant. Efficiency demands that if a staff capable of scientific management does not exist, it should be created, and the responsibility of properly spending the money be placed upon it. In the same way, since formal education is a technical service, the money expended on it should be apportioned by a technically trained administrative staff. The annual budget should be prepared by this staff, with the aid and advice of teachers and board members, and then acted upon by the board as the representatives of the public.

Public *versus* corporation management. An illuminating parallel may be drawn between the efficient management of a public business such as the school system and that of

such a corporation as a railroad. The stockholders represent the public, the board of directors the school board, and the officers of the corporation the administrative staff of the schools. The stockholders supply the capital, but the board of directors are responsible to them for the proper expenditure of this capital. An intelligent board of directors, however, do not spend the money. They employ experts — a president, vice-president, treasurer, etc. — to spend it more wisely than the board of directors could possibly do. A general budget of expenditures is made out by these experts and submitted to the board for criticism, correction, and adoption. Large latitude for changes in details is left to the executive officers, as emergencies may demand. Final authority and responsibility rest with the board of directors, but a sensible board leaves in the hands of its officials the actual administration of all details.

In the same way that the board of directors represents the stockholders, and checks up the work of the executive staff in a railway or other corporation, the board of education represents the voting public of a district and should check up the administrative staff of the public schools. After this staff is chosen, wise public control demands that details of expenditure be left to the body of experts chosen for that purpose. Unfortunately such a tried and well-founded principle of private business management is not always carried over into public affairs. Many school systems have suffered either because the board failed to select intelligent administrators, or failed to place upon them the responsibility for the proper expenditure of its funds. Consequently such schools may be found overloaded with useless equipment, or equipment poorly adapted to the purposes for which it was purchased, and deficient in equipment really needed for the work of instruction. Likewise some phases of the work of the schools have been adequately provided

for, most generally the traditionally accepted studies, while other phases calling for expert direction, such as the newer additions to the curriculum requiring specially trained teachers and laboratory or library facilities, have been neglected. Progressive changes and new adaptations of school work to the demands of our advancing national needs are thus brought about with great difficulty and needless slowness.

Appointing function of the board. What is true of the financial administration is equally true of the personal management of our schools. An intelligent board of directors of a corporation do not employ a high-salaried manager with a corps of lieutenants, and then dictate to him the personnel of his working force. Loyalty to the management and the proper coöperation of the working force demand that responsibility for the selection of the rank and file of the employees be centered in the executive staff. In like manner loyalty to the superintendent and principals and proper coöperation of the teaching staff demand that responsibility for the selection of the rank and file of teachers be placed with the administrative staff of the schools. Altogether too often the board of education, either because of a selfish desire to make places for relatives or friends, because of a lack of confidence in the administrative officials selected, or from a mistaken sense of duty, continue to appoint teachers and assign them to specific positions which only the expert administrator is capable of filling properly. The result is that a superintendent or principal is asked to be responsible for the success of work which is foredoomed to failure because his assistants are unable to do the work to which they must be assigned. In the same way a superintendent or principal may have to face inevitable failure because of the disloyalty or incompetence or unadaptability of the teaching force at his command.

A wiser policy on the part of the board would prevent many of these inevitable failures, and at the same time tend to unify the personnel of our schools. As a general principle the board should exercise the appointing power directly only with reference to a new superintendent; should coöperate with the superintendent in the appointment of assistant executives; and should act only in an advisory capacity in the selection or elimination of the other members of the educational staff. Fortunately this principle, which has long been in force in our better colleges and universities, is being more and more acted upon in our best-managed public schools throughout the country.

Executive *versus* school-board control. The last phase of school-board control is in their legislative capacity. Most boards have rules and bylaws by which the work of administrative officers and teachers is guided, and occasionally they enact legislation regarding school policies. In regard to these much the same principles previously laid down should apply. In so far as the interests of the public are paramount, or wherever public opinion, which they should reflect, is more likely to be correct than that of educational specialists (and there are plenty of such cases), the board should act, either by general rule or by special legislation.

On the other hand, in all cases of school discipline or school policy or school administration, where the training and spirit and judgment of the school expert should be superior to that of the intelligent but untrained citizen, the board should scrupulously avoid interference. This line of demarkation between the authority the board should assume and that which it should delegate to its administrative agents is sometimes hard to draw, but the principle is clear and should be consciously adopted and rigidly adhered to. The frequent quarrels between superintendents and their boards, caused by the undue interference of the board with

the detailed management of the schools, is wholly out of place, and still more indefensible is the over-ruling of the school authorities by the board in cases of discipline, or minor changes in the methods or curriculum, on account of personal pique or on the complaint of some disgruntled patron. One of the fundamental requirements in the elevation of the teaching profession is that those responsible for the schools should not tolerate such interference.

Training of administrators. All of these changes, whether voluntarily adopted or brought about by the growth of education and the development of scientific management, will call for specially trained administrators. It is primarily for this purpose that our teachers' colleges have been developed. Many normal schools have established full collegiate curricula, granting special teachers' degrees, and placing particular emphasis upon administrative courses for the training of superintendents, principals, and supervisors. Our colleges and universities are also establishing schools of education where administrative training can be acquired. Likewise graduate schools granting advanced degrees in education, and offering special opportunities and inducements for research work, are stimulating experiments, testing results, and aiding, not only in establishing scientific formulas and principles, but in developing administrators capable of handling large educational problems. Appointment bureaus are facilitating the proper placing of teachers. These multiplied facilities devoted to training teachers in scientific management will develop educators who are able to use the rapidly improving equipment now procurable in reorganizing our popularly evolved education into the efficiently administered system that the building-up of our democracy demands.

(3) The teaching staff. The third phase of the general administrative problem relates to the teaching staff of the

schools. Superintendents, principals, special supervisors, and to a certain extent all ordinary teachers as well, are technical agents of the board of education. They are responsible to the public, through the board, and must bear the burden of technical control. Since they are paid officials, presumably trained for their work, and wholly devoted to it, the chief responsibility for securing equality of opportunity and democratic efficiency in our schools will always devolve upon them. But the attainment of these things is no mean task and calls for continued improvement in many ways.

The teacher and the public. The first line of improvement has been suggested in the previous discussion; that is, a better adjustment of the relations between the board and the public on the one hand, and the teachers in the schools on the other. These last must not only be held accountable for control and instruction, but they must not be hampered and interfered with in the discharge of their duties, either by the school board or by the public. Unfortunately this ideal is seldom realized. Education has to do with children, and the relations of older people, particularly parents, with children are so largely dominated by feeling that the judgment of the trained teacher is not sufficiently respected. In the realm of feeling all tend to be experts, and the voice of the scientist fades into the general Babel of tongues. Hence the teacher is criticized with a freedom comparable only to the criticism of the minister, whose native realm is that of sentiment. It is the emotional severity of judgment and freedom of criticism directed at the teacher that increase the peripatetic nature of his calling and lead to many of the ills of school administration. The cure lies in a rigid distinction between the proper work of the public, the board of education, and the teacher. This should be elaborated by the educational sociologist, built into public opinion by the

teacher and the educational statesman outside the profession, and deliberately practiced by the boards of education in their dealings with the teaching staff.

The intermediate nature of the functions of the school board demands that it stand between a highly interested but hypercritical and untrained public, on the one hand, and the sensitive teacher, whose temperament and training breed zeal and impartiality, on the other. Improvement of mutual understanding and forbearance between public, board, and teacher is a reform not to be brought about or expected in a short time, but it is one to be striven for through coming decades and even generations. We have an abundance of educational sentiment, but it is mass sentiment, crude but powerful, and it needs direction. Many teachers have been martyrs to right convictions and righteous actions because people, with the best of impulses, have mistaken their own zeal for intelligence. When our democratic zest for education is adequately controlled and wisely directed, it will form a better background for educational advance than any centralized system handed down from above.

Professionalization of teaching. The second line of improvement demanded is the greater professionalization of teaching. Effective administration of even a business, if it is highly specialized and permanent, cannot be expected until its managers at least have attained something of a professional status. Much more is this true of the administration of a social institution as highly specialized and complex as that of public education. Our schools rose from the masses, however, and have specialized slowly. The teaching function has been kept within the reach of the children of all classes. The result has been that the teacher is too often merely an unspecialized graduate of our common schools. More than half of the teachers in many States are

still of this class. Lack of specific training for their work, a shifting personnel, and an unrecognized social status have made professionalization a slow process. It is gradually coming about, however, and certain essentials may be outlined which are necessary to hasten its coming.

The first essential is that of higher standards of entrance into teaching work. Certificates to teach have long been necessary in all States, but the requirements for a certificate have generally been low. Passing an examination in the branches taught in the elementary schools has usually been sufficient to obtain a certificate to teach in any grade—even in the high school. This standard has now been passed in a number of States, and high-school graduation, with certain additional professional preparation, has been made the standard. It is only a matter of time until these requirements will prevail generally. In the mean time progressive States will have reached the standard of college or normal-school graduation already attained in California.

But entrance into a real profession requires more than merely a general education, however extensive that education may be. Law and medicine and theology never became well-established professions until something more than passing through a few years of legal or medical or religious experience was necessary to make a general practitioner. Actual educative training of a specific type became the basis for a license to practice before the professions obtained a recognized status. The same evolution will be a necessary preliminary to the foundation of a real profession of teaching. This fundamental requirement is rapidly being met by the development of state and city normal schools, schools of education in connection with our colleges and universities, and the inclusion in the examinations for a certificate to teach of more and more evidence of specialized professional preparation.

The economic status of the teacher. The second essential for the professionalization of teaching is an improvement of the economic status of the teacher. This requires first of all better pay for teachers. The socially sheltered and respectable nature of the teacher's work, like that of the ministry, will keep his salary permanently below the income of the lawyer and the physician; but the attainment of economic independence is necessary to secure proper self-respect and the progressive improvement in service which seems to be more essential in teaching than in other professions. Demands upon the teacher are already heavy, and are increasing as the standards of entrance and advancement in the profession are elevated. Hence rewards must also increase. Part of these rewards, in the nature of social respectability and educational advantages for the children of teachers, are already increasing; but in addition to these, and as a stimulus to them, must come increased salaries. The rapidly advancing cost of respectable living has wrought peculiar hardship upon teachers, because readjustment of fixed-term salaries is slower in periods of change than that of the more easily adjusted and less fully advertised wages of the workman, or the special fees of other professional men. That the average salary of our teachers is much below the average wage of the skilled tradesman is a rather sad commentary upon our appreciation of culture. A real professional status for the teacher can never be obtained until this condition is radically altered.

Continuity of service. Another phase in the economic improvement of teaching lies in greater continuity of service. The "average life" of elementary school teachers does not exceed four years, and the average length of service in a particular position is nothing short of appalling. In the rural school the average "stop" of a teacher in a particular community is scarcely more than two terms, and, while the

length of continuous service in the cities is much longer, it is still too brief to give the atmosphere of permanence to the profession. If education is the important institution for our national security and progress which politicians and publicists would have us believe, it is abundantly worth while to see that the ranks of educators are continually filled from the stable elements of society. This stability can be attained only as the teacher and the public each recognize the relationship of teacher and community as a comparatively fixed and permanent one. If the community phases of the work of the teacher are to be rapidly improved, a change in the methods of choosing the teacher, in the nature of his contract, and in the length of his tenure are imperative.

Feminization of teaching. A third essential of professionalization must be a check to the progressive feminization of teaching, which has now been going on for several generations. Teaching is a profession for which many women are fitted by nature and preference. Half of our public school pupils are girls, and as our educational aims and ideals and curricula are revised to meet their needs, at least half of our teachers will need permanently to be women. It is difficult, however, to see why, as an educational policy, much more than half should ever be women. Yet statistics show that, in 1914, 80.1 per cent of our teachers were women, and only 19.9 per cent were men. Earlier figures indicating the progressive decrease of men show that in 1880, 42.8 per cent were men; in 1890, 34.5 per cent; in 1900, 29.9 per cent; in 1910, 21.1 per cent.

This progressive feminization has led to a number of weaknesses in our educational systems, as compared with those of other nations and ages, but we are concerned here only with its effect upon professionalization. In every line of professional advance outlined above the enormous preponderance of women teachers is a hindrance. In the first

place, many of them are unwilling to undergo the amount of technical preparation necessary to real professional work. Such unwillingness comes, not from lesser ambition or ability, but from the very nature of the social position in which woman finds herself in this age. She expects and is expected to marry and become a home-maker, which she usually does, thus rendering any extended technical preparation for teaching economically unprofitable. In the second place, women can accept smaller pay than is necessary to attract men into the profession. Both tradition and the nature of her life have given woman a place of comparative economic dependence. Many of her expenses are borne by others in the home or elsewhere in society. Her standard of necessary wages is consequently lower, and where these wages are competitively established she can underbid men. This has been especially true in the field of education where the socially respectable nature of the calling has given it an advantage over most other occupations open to women. The net result is that, until the practice of employing a larger proportion of men in our school systems is adopted, the wage scale for the rank and file of teachers will move up very slowly.

In the same way the preponderance of women teachers undermines the stability of the profession. Women generally drop out of teaching when they marry. They also probably change positions more readily to secure a change of social environment. When teaching away from home the strength of their original home ties prevents them from so readily accepting the responsibilities of citizenship in the new community as men can do. Both because of their lack of group training and because of the temporary nature of their interest in professional improvement, they organize into professional groups less effectually than men. Altogether, without the least insinuation against the motives of

women in entering teaching, or minimizing in the remotest degree the vast contribution they have made and are making to educational advancement, it may be stated as a fundamental fact that teaching can never become a profession, with the social standing and rewards of the other professions, until the number of men engaged in it is approximately as large as the number of women.

Organization of the teaching staff. Another improvement demanded in the technical administration of our schools is a better organization of the teaching staff. When teachers are more specifically trained for their work, and are chosen by the administrative staff on account of their fitness for the position they are expected to fill, organization into a well-rounded system will be much more nearly possible than at present. Now many teachers are trained to fill one position and are compelled to occupy another. Teachers trained for primary work are found in the intermediate and grammar grades, or even in the high school. We are just beginning to develop facilities for training teachers for the secondary school, and as the demands become greater these will be separated into junior and senior high-school groups. In addition, as we classify the pupils both vertically and horizontally, we shall find it more and more necessary to develop supervisors for special subjects, such as music, drawing, physical training, etc. This form of specialization is growing rapidly, and will be more important as the proportion of pupils in the upper grades increases through the better handling of the curriculum and other phases of upper-grade work.

Articulation of the schools with other institutions. The final improvement in technical administration is a better articulation of school education with that given young people by other educative institutions of the community. Various phases of this articulation have been treated elsewhere, but

logical discussion demands its mention here. The general movement toward the coördination of all educational agencies can be immensely stimulated by placing additional emphasis upon sociological study. Every teacher-training course in either college and university or normal school should place sociology alongside psychology as an educational study and make educational sociology a required course. With the background of social understanding thus established, the process of developing educational breadth and solidarity will be immensely accelerated.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. Make a study of the length of the school year in your county, and show the differences in opportunity between the rural and the city child.
2. What are the various things being done in our progressive cities to aid children of the poor to remain in school? Make a study of the aid rendered in some particular city, such as Boston, New York, Chicago, Kansas City, or Los Angeles.
3. Make a class report on the social stratification found in the German schools.
4. Will the development of industrial education in this country tend to draw a line between the children of the working-classes and the well-to-do? Give reasons for your conclusion.
5. Explain definitely why democratic control is in itself an educative process.
6. Make a class report on the methods of school administration in France at the present time.
7. Prepare a brief for or against the county as the unit of administration for all rural schools.
8. What are the objections to the popular election of state and county superintendents? What specific plan can you propose which would form a better method?
9. What advantages would accrue to education from having the National Commissioner of Education a member of the President's Cabinet?
10. For what length of term do you think members of school boards should be elected? Give reasons for your judgment.
11. Should the school board have full power to fix the district tax levy for school purposes? Give reasons for your opinion.
12. Give examples you have known of the wasteful expenditure of school

money, that would not have been made had the budget been prepared by a trained school officer.

13. Should the county superintendent appoint all rural teachers, by and with the advice and consent of the local boards, rather than have them elected by the district board? Would appointment on his recommendation, by a county board of education, be still better?
14. Why is the teacher's contract so much more rigid than that of business employees?
15. Analyze the ethics of a teacher resigning his position during the school year without the consent of the school board.
16. Outline the legislative work of some particular school board.
17. Can you give specific instances of teachers being removed from their positions on account of the complaints of a single family, when their work was satisfactory to a large majority of the patrons?
18. Explain why teachers are more sensitive to criticism than are business men.
19. Trace the history of the requirements for a certificate to teach in your State.
20. Explain specifically why a college graduate, without special preparation for teaching, is better prepared to teach than he is to practice law or medicine. Will teaching in the course of time become as technical as law and medicine?
21. What is the average wage of the teacher in the United States? In your State? Make a table in five-year periods, as far back as you can trace it, and show the changes.
22. From the latest catalogue or by inquiry make a study of the length of tenure of present teachers in your institution. Make a similar study of some city or county system.
23. Prepare a brief for or against compulsory equal pay for equal service of men and women in the teaching profession.
24. What are the objections to private teachers' agencies? Will they be needed when schools learn better how to place their students?
25. Would a law limiting the first year's salary to half of the regular salary and the second year's salary to three fourths of the regular salary in a particular position add essentially to permanence of personnel in the teaching profession? Would it be a good thing for the schools? How would it affect teachers' salaries?

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CHAPTER XIII

THE SOCIALIZATION OF DISCIPLINE

IN the internal administration of our schools there are several problems, or series of problems, which confront the teacher and administrator, that need sociological treatment. Discipline, the curriculum, and teaching method, all have their social as well as individual aspects, and should be dealt with from the standpoint of society no less than from that of the individuals in training. While the compass of a brief general treatise forbids any elaborate discussion of these problems, yet an analysis of the general principles underlying them, and a specific treatment of some of their leading features, may be valuable in showing the applications of educational sociology to everyday educational practice. In this chapter we shall analyze the fundamentals of the socialization of discipline.

The problem of discipline

Not the least perplexing of school problems is that of school government, or discipline. It has been an age-long problem, and while its fundamentals are better understood to-day than ever before, it is not becoming any less acute in actual practice. As the teacher is solving the problem of mere physical control over his pupils, society is demanding that he increase his spiritual control. Where the old-time teacher was required to be supreme in his own narrow realm, the present-day teacher is asked to build up ideals of conduct in the minds of his pupils that will not only aid in establishing self-control, but will also aid in community control.

In other words, physical discipline of the old sort is giving way to a spiritual discipline that is more democratic, more subtle, and more far-reaching, but more difficult to administer. The days of corporal punishment are about over, but as long as there are youth to govern a certain amount of punishment of some kind will be necessary. As the type of this punishment becomes more psychical and the amount of it decreases, greater ingenuity will be required to maintain the control that the teacher should exercise over the conduct of pupils. Probably not less than twenty per cent of the failures of young teachers may now be attributed to weakness in discipline; and if subtler standards of measurement are used as discipline becomes more a matter of moral leadership, we can scarcely expect a rapid decrease in the proportion. The seriousness of the problem of discipline, therefore, makes it worthy of greater clarity of statement and broader treatment, particularly from the standpoint of its social effect, than it has yet received. We can attempt here to deal only with some of the leading features of the problem.

Twofold nature of the problem. In the first place, it should be made clear that the problem of human control is everywhere twofold. On the one hand, it is concerned with individuals as individuals, differing from all others in disposition and experience. On the other hand, it is concerned with individuals as members of social groups, similar to others by both nature and training. Moreover, these groups vary in aim and spirit, almost as much as do individuals. School discipline must be approached from both standpoints. In so far as it has to do with single individuals, dominated by separatist characteristics, it is a psychological problem. But when it must deal with individuals as members of groups, dominated by social motives and ideals, it becomes a sociological problem. It is manifest, therefore, that when

school discipline is to be reduced to principles or to any sort of system, both educational psychology and educational sociology must be appealed to for direction. As shown in Chapter II, neither the individual nor the group is primary and original, nor can individual and social motives and ideals be separated; hence both the individual and social points of view must be taken into consideration in dealing with specific cases, regardless of whether the case originated in an individual or a social situation.

Principles of discipline. There are at least four fundamental principles necessary to good discipline: (1) it must harmonize with social ideals outside the schoolroom: (2) it must be positive and constructive rather than negative and restrictive; (3) it must be indirect rather than direct in method; and (4) it must be administered on the highest plane which the pupils can understand.

In regard to the first principle it should be remembered that every fixed institution and every fleeting organization has its problem of discipline. The State, the Church, the family, the club, the gang, the team — each must have some central authority, some class consciousness, some will to be enforced by certain forms of discipline, either direct or indirect, conscious or unconscious. The problem in each case differs from that in every other, but it is inherent in all forms of concerted action. School discipline thus partakes of the nature of the discipline in other phases of organized society. It resembles family discipline in that it is concerned largely with the young; it is like governmental control in that it is concerned with citizens and public property; it is like church regulation in that it deals directly with the moral welfare of the school population; it is like club and team and cultural societary government in that those who are ruled and directed by it are united by exterior ties that are frequently changed and may be broken. It not only partakes of the

nature of all these, but it should harmonize with them. It should neither be a copy of any one nor a compound of all, but should learn lessons from each and must, to fulfill its complete mission, reinforce all the others.

Basis of harmony. The basis of this necessary harmony should rest upon two foundations, the social survey and the school survey. These may be either actual and formal, or implied and informal. The social survey should analyze the social environment of the school; the school survey its inner composition. Just as the support and organization of the school, its course of study, and its methods of teaching depend to a large extent upon the liberality, the traditions, and the nature and intelligence of the community, so must its discipline be based upon community practices and ideals. As it is impossible to have a well-equipped and continuously progressive school in a stagnant or undeveloped community, so it is impossible to use at all times the highest methods of discipline in a district where family, church, and state control are autocratic, narrow, and inefficient. Likewise the use of the lower types of discipline is inexcusable in an environment where the higher levels are maintained outside the schoolroom. The first basis, then, for the establishing or judging of school discipline is a study of the community to determine its standards and its methods of institutional control.

The complementary method is that of a study of the school population: ages of the children to be governed; their birth-right of physical, mental, and moral capacity; and the training they have received on the playground, in the home, and in other relations of life before they entered the school, and are getting outside of school hours after they enter — should all be taken into account. This survey should be not merely general, but it should be particular and individual. Before general rules of behavior are established,

the collective ideals of the school body should be determined; and before specific cases of discipline are handled, the teacher should know all that it is possible to know of the nature and heredity and training of the particular individual to be dealt with. This precludes any fixed standard of general practice for all schools, or any set method of dealing with special cases. Probably the greatest weakness in the discipline of earlier years was a failure to vary it to suit individual cases or to harmonize it with community practices. This principle might be carried to extremes by too great conformity to local custom, and the possibility of uplifting the ideals of a neighborhood be thereby lost; but all stable progress is of slow growth, and any wide breach between school discipline and community ideals is likely to wreck the teacher who attempts it, without the accomplishment of results worthy of the sacrifice.

Negative *versus* positive discipline. The second principle to be borne in mind by the teacher is the difference between negative and positive discipline. Negative discipline is based upon thou shalt nots; positive discipline upon thou shalt. The one is an Old Testament gospel; the other, of the New; the one, Hebraistic; the other, Christian. Christ rebuked but only that he might heal and purify. Negative discipline merely prohibits and restricts action; positive discipline constructs character and secures right habits of action. One strives to obtain temporary obedience; the other to fit the individual to meet the permanent demands of society. Negative discipline has its uses in maintaining present efficiency and inhibiting pernicious habits, but its usefulness is limited. On the other hand, positive discipline is useful not only in preventing present disorder and indecorum, but in establishing fixed habits of orderliness, obedience, and helpfulness. Negative rules must have a background of force; positive rules may show the engaging features of love. Both

of these types are necessary in our schools, but the quality of the discipline used may be judged to a large extent by the scarcity of the one and the abundance of the other.

A parallel may be drawn between the work of the teacher and that of the physician. Medicine may be curative, but the scientific physician knows that health can be permanently maintained only by right living. Hence he strives not alone to check the ravages of disease, but to build up his patient's strength by insisting on proper habits of health. So the teacher must not merely check violations of the school regimen, but he must build the moral foundations of future conduct. He must secure reasonable conformity to rule at present, and not fail to stimulate motives for right reactions in later years. He must dominate in the schoolroom, but should make his discipline educative enough to carry its influence beyond his immediate jurisdiction.

Direct *versus* indirect discipline. The third principle to be remembered by the teacher is the distinction between direct and indirect discipline. Direct discipline is the exercise of control by very evident means. It is conscious discipline on the part of both teacher and pupil. Its typical form is the direct command to do or not to do certain things. Indirect discipline means control through indirect means that may be conscious on the part of the teacher, but must be unconscious on the part of the child. It is the discipline that comes from congenial work well done and from participation in the various activities of the school as a whole. That it is the kind exercised most freely in society outside the school is evident when we recall that one's personal habits and his reactions to social discipline are determined largely by his interests and enthusiasms and his voluntary membership in social, philanthropic, and business organizations. Each individual has a part to play in the activities of the world, and the nature of his responses to its calls

indicate the nature and the wholesomeness of the discipline he has undergone.

Direct discipline becomes prominent only in case of failure to meet the ordinary demands of associated life. It is the type of control adapted to the unfit. While children of school age are more likely to require control by direct command than older people, the larger the amount of dominance that can be secured through unconscious influence the more nearly will the training given harmonize with the requirements of later years. If the tasks of society are performed through interest in the work to be done, then the more completely the pupil is habituated to respond readily to the serious tasks of school life the better he will be fitted to respond correctly to future stimuli. Only the discipline that comes from the inspiration and leadership of the teacher and the work to be done is indirect enough to leave any considerable impression upon the life of the pupil.

Planes of discipline. The final principle of good discipline is that it should be administered on as high a plane as the pupils are able to respond to. This requires a clear understanding on the part of the teacher of the planes or levels of human control. These planes are determined both by the means used to secure control and the motives appealed to in the governed. There is a steadily rising series of these methods and motives, but for clearness' sake they may be reduced to three — the plane of force, the plane of personal domination, and the plane of social pressure. The discipline on these levels may successively be called the military, the personal, and the social.

Military discipline. Military discipline is authoritative, severe, is given from above and ignores personality. It is the discipline of set regulations, of enforced conformity to rule, of immediate punishment, generally of a physical nature. Likeness of aim, likeness of method, and likeness

of product are its foundations. Unquestioning obedience and promptness of service are the chief virtues it demands and cultivates. Short shrift is made of the disloyal and the non-conformist, and the history of army training everywhere indicates an undervaluation of the innovator.

It has, however, its uses in the State and its prototype has its values in the schoolroom. The authority of the teacher must be respected. Obedience and conformity to necessary rules must be secured. If summary punishment is necessary to obtain respect and obedience, there is no reasonable means to which the teacher may not resort to obtain them. A certain amount of mechanical regulation and school routine are indispensable to efficiency where schoolrooms or grounds are crowded as they usually are. Moreover, the virtues growing out of this enforced conformity are not to be despised. They are needed in later life. Respect for school authority should develop respect for law, and training in obedience, even though secured by enforced rule, may breed habits of accepting constituted authority elsewhere — in the State, the Church, the club, and the business concern. The American's lack of docility, his irreverence, and his defiance of law as compared with that of the German, the Frenchman, or the Englishman, may doubtless be traced to some extent to poorly enforced discipline of this sort in the public schools.

Personal discipline. Personal discipline is the next higher level. Here the element of regulation has ceased to be conspicuous. Personality has been substituted for position as the basis of securing control. While military discipline relies for its enforcement upon outer or objective methods, personal discipline relies upon inner or subjective methods. Fear has been replaced by respect as the pupil's motive for obedience. Just as in the more successful military discipline fear may be elevated into respect, so in the highest personal

discipline mere respect has grown into love as a motive. This higher emotional appeal, together with its more humane methods of reaching the desired end and its tendency to develop habits of response to the kind of stimuli most frequently met in general society, constitutes the basis for pronouncing it a new level.

The discipline of personality has two phases. First comes that in which authority is asserted or understood. The teacher by virtue of his position is master and thus may command. His personality is reinforced by whatever of respect the pupil may have for any kind of authority whatsoever. But the mainspring of obedience and loyalty to duty is the personal relation between the pupil and teacher as such. The second phase of personal discipline, however, is more subtle, more powerful, and more spiritual. It is the discipline of leadership and followership. In so far as possible the relationship of authority and subservience is kept in the background. The teacher is older, better educated, and wiser than the pupil; therefore he directs and the pupil consents. They become, in a way, team-mates for the accomplishment of certain purposes. This relationship is not wanting in the classroom under good personal discipline, but it is shown more conspicuously in extra-curricular activities. Advisorship in literary, dramatic, athletic, or other school enterprises offers fine opportunities for teacher leadership without consciousness of teacher domination.

Social discipline. The highest level of discipline is the social. It is the one in which the teacher's authority is never surrendered, but it seldom appears on the surface. Orders are wanting and direct requests are not numerous, but suggestions are frequent. It is largely unconscious discipline on the part of the child. The teacher's presence and direction are vitally felt, but only as a part of the total school influence. Each pupil is made to feel that he is a real part of

the working force of the school society. The school spirit and atmosphere have reached the point where the lateral pressure exerted by pupils upon each other is in harmony with the spirit exerted by the teacher. Government and discipline not only come down from above, but are radiated from the sides. Great is the teacher who can lead his pupils to govern themselves, and happy he who can keep in his school a social consciousness that will punish automatically the offender against good order and efficiency!

Social discipline grades all the way from reasonable teacher-pupil coöperation in daily work, and general school loyalty to school enterprises, to pretty complete student self-government. Its aim is to build upon the ideal of social service. The motives appealed to are identical with the highest motives used in reaching adults. It is consequently indirect, constructive, and moral, but difficult to attain. For complete success it demands superior teachers and a high type of pupils; but when it is made to succeed it gives much of the effective moral training so long demanded in vain, of our schools, and fits the student as nearly as a single institution can to gain the self-control and social adaptability needed in a democratic society. It will form the keystone of the arch of a socialized education.

The disciplinary ideal. The above analysis of principles might seem to indicate that what we ordinarily think of as discipline should never occur. That would be true with a perfect teacher, with perfect pupils, and with perfect conditions. But since these things never exist even singly, let alone in conjunction, objective and curative discipline will be a permanent phenomenon. However, the less of it that is visible and necessary the nearer an ideal situation is realized. If society could do without jails and penitentiaries and reformatories we should be better off. Each of these institutions is open to criticism, both general and particular;

in fact they can all be shown to be clumsy, inefficient make-shifts; but society has not yet learned to do without them. It is merely improving their spirit, methods, and aims as intelligence increases. The aim of enlightened governments is to build up a state in which rebellion will not occur and in which discontent and anti-social activities will be reduced to a minimum. In the same way the prime essential of good discipline is to make conditions so nearly perfect, and to adjust school relationships so nicely, that the machinery of control will be noiseless. Discipline that approaches the ideal forestalls ordinary difficulties by intensifying interest in daily duties and building up a school spirit that will not tolerate trifling or disloyalty. It accepts the problem of youthful control as an opportunity to educate for social control by giving to youth as much training in self-control and social participation as is possible.

Punishment. In the light of the above analysis it may be well to review some of the specific problems of discipline that daily perplex the teacher. One of the most annoying of these is methods of punishment. Until human nature is perfect, offenses calling for punishment will occasionally occur in the best-managed school. The common forms used may be reduced to three — corporal punishment, assignment of tasks, and deprivations. Corporal punishment is the crudest of these — negative, direct, and on the lowest plane. It must not be overlooked, however, that it may be the highest appeal that a particular child will respond to. If the preliminary community survey which every teacher should make shows corporal punishment to be general or the school survey that it is customary, and if the child has been accustomed to expect it at home for misdemeanors, it may be the surest method of getting ready obedience or right behavior. Much sentimental nonsense has been written and said about its cruelty. Other punishments may be much more cruel.

Probably to the average child the greatest suffering comes, not from the physical pain, but from the conspicuous nature of the shame attached to it. It may be laid down as a rule, however, that it should never be used in communities which have passed that stage of development, or where the teacher can devise a higher appeal that will effectively reach the offender. The sooner teaching ingenuity can get along without it the better.

Assignment of tasks is a slightly higher form of punishment, and is used in bewildering variety. Restoration of misappropriated goods, or of injured or destroyed property, apologies under varying conditions, and specific assignments of work are the usual types. Wherever these punishments can be adapted to the nature of the offense, both in kind and degree, they are justifiable and effective in aiding moral development.

There is likewise a wide range of deprivations which are quite generally used. Free access to the library, participation in popular school activities, such as athletics, dramatics, and social affairs, customary freedom in behavior, etc., are denied to offenders against school regulations. Keeping in at recess or after school are quite common forms, and may be justified where they do not interfere with needed exercise or other means of wholesome development.

The fundamental principles of punishment are that it be just, certain, and effective, and that it flow as naturally out of the offense as possible — that is, be as nearly the punishment which the better pupils would approve or willingly inflict. Reproof should be as educative as other phases of school life, and this requires that it be made thoughtfully, be carefully planned to suit the individuals punished, and that it provide training which will aid the student to accept gracefully the restraints of civilized society.

Rewards. Closely allied to the question of punishment is

that of special rewards. All effort on the part of children as well as of older people is the result of striving for some reward, either direct or indirect, present or future. Rewards may be either natural or artificial. Natural rewards are those which inevitably follow thoughts, words, and deeds. The greatest amount of dynamic energy is secured where the reward can be shown to flow directly from the effort put forth. But frequently the end of a certain line of conduct cannot be seen from the beginning. Children are by nature less able to see distant and indirect compensations than are older people, and are therefore more in need of artificial rewards to stimulate present effort. It is futile to talk of culture or rounded development or remote success as being the only motives to be appealed to in children, when artificial stimuli are needed among adults to arouse conspicuous civic or institutional accomplishment. The community and school surveys should reveal the types of special rewards in common use, and only those which make the highest appeal to which the child will effectively respond should be adopted for schoolroom use.

Ordinary school rewards may be classified as prizes, honors, and privileges. Prizes are of the lowest type. They appeal to commonplace sentiments, but are very present and tangible stimulants to certain classes of pupils. They are palpably artificial and frequently lead to ill-feeling, but are quite customary and, if carefully guarded, may be justifiable.

Honors are of a higher type, appealing to better sentiments, and may be quite effectively used in building up appreciation of right conduct or stimulating superior achievement. Grades, scholastic ranking, athletic or literary emblems, and automatically given offices are common examples. These honors are more valuable when given to groups, or to individuals as members of groups, in stimu-

lating the coöperation and teamwork so necessary in our highly complex and interdependent society.

The third and highest type of special reward is that of granting unusual privileges to the meritorious. Freedom for self-direction is not only highly prized, but ability to use it is one of the most useful virtues in a democracy. Consequently rewards that stimulate it are in line with all educational effort. The granting of any privilege which will make an effective appeal to school pupils, and which is in harmony with the higher appeals for service in well-ordered society, will provide training for response to those appeals in later years. Freedom in the use of library, laboratory, or playgrounds; of choosing preferred lines or methods of work; of forming and freely participating in school organizations; and of general self-government are types of reward being cultivated in every progressive school. As in punishment, rewards should be just, certain, effective, as well adapted to the nature of the effort desired as possible, should be in harmony with social ideals, and should be intrinsically educative.

School organizations. Another question of vital importance in discipline is the control of school organizations. Students in the high school and upper grades and even younger pupils have the same tendencies to unite in social classes, cliques, and definitely organized groups as do older people. Within limits this tendency is wholesome and should be encouraged, but, undirected, it often leads to serious difficulties. Our schools are public schools and must be democratic. Therefore any effort to carry social class lines into the schools or to develop snobbery must be checked. All ranking — and there will always be some of it — should be based upon proper school virtues rather than upon any artificial social stratification found outside the schools. Cliques based upon social respectability or held

together by selfish purposes should be carefully watched and dealt with by constructive means. Too much trouble of this sort is brought about by a lack of adequate leadership, and may be forestalled by the deliberate encouragement of proper organization. Such constructive measures not only prevent spurious organizations, but provide valuable training for coöperative effort in social and cultural groups. It should be accepted as a principle that students have not merely the right to organize, but that they have a right to expect encouragement and direction in these organizations.

Again the community and school surveys should not be neglected. Some neighborhoods will be found wanting in organization, and consequently will be divided up into petty cliques or steeped in anti-social individualism. Others will be filled with organizations of a doubtful type. Children are imitative and are apt, if not properly directed, to develop wrong ideals from such environments. Whatever organizations are fostered in the school should take into account the social pressure that reaches pupils from the outside, and should be adapted to aid them to live in and improve the society they are to enter.

The usual types of school group are the athletic, culture, and social groups. Athletic groups include such organizations as tennis clubs, baseball, football, basketball, and track teams, walking, boating, or swimming clubs, etc. These are all valuable assets to general discipline and to physical well-being, and should be so regulated that opportunities for participation should be as widely and fairly distributed as possible. The introduction of physical and playground directors into our public schools is removing the worst abuses, and is putting physical education on a respectable and accepted basis. One of the dangers of the present status of athletics is the sacrifice of the good of the many to the

production of teams for inter-school competition; but this will doubtless be remedied as physical education is taken more seriously.

Culture groups include literary, dramatic, art, reading, scientific, departmental, and similar organizations to promote extra-classroom study. They may be subject to abuse, but when safeguarded by teacher advisorship are valuable aids to general discipline and provide a genuine stimulus to self-culture and social development.

Social organizations include such groups as dancing clubs, social-form clubs, picnicking clubs, and general social clubs and fraternities. Social training is about the last phase of education to find its way into the schools, but it is by no means the least important. We are still so near the frontier in America, and have so recently passed the cruder struggle for existence, that there is as yet little appreciation of the utilitarian value of social culture. Hence it has been neglected and is still undervalued as a means of refining and uplifting the masses. Giving school time to this means of culture is still opposed by many school men and a large part of the public. Yet no analysis of the needs of American life or of the socializing function of public schools can fail to show the importance of the schools supplementing home training in the social amenities as well as home training along intellectual and vocational lines. Education into life means preparation for social as well as business life, and, however we may feel about it, we must recognize and train the social instincts. Forms of social amusement and recreation must be studied, and the pupils trained to accept and use the highest types that will make an effective appeal to them.

The fraternity problem. Probably no element of discipline has caused the principals of large high schools more trouble than that of the high-school fraternity. Moreover, various elements of the same problem are to be found in the

smaller high schools. The high-school fraternity was a perfectly natural outgrowth of high-school life as it has evolved in the past generation. A generation ago the public high school was a new creation, its curriculum abstract, its methods of discipline formal, and its aims and ideals unformulated. It stood apart, neither properly joined to the elementary school below nor to the college above. Consequently its social spirit was inchoate, somewhat desiccated, and almost entirely unregulated. The high-school years cover the period of youthful uncertainty, adventure, and romance; and, since the school provided neither traditions nor guidance, the students were compelled to seek for models of social organization either in the college or in general society. The form, ceremony, mystery, and freedom that characterized the college fraternity appealed to the aspiring youth and the high-school fraternity was the result.

Confronting these conditions the wise teacher would have paused and planned constructive measures to avoid the evils that inevitably followed. But the teachers in this new field were also groping for the light, were inexperienced in social leadership of the young, and were consequently not wise and forehanded. They allowed the fraternities to arise as unregulated activities, and then, when abuses that might have been expected appeared, used purely negative and repressive measures to crush them. On this rock many superintendents and principals have been wrecked. Neither American children nor adults react happily to coercive measures, and either social stagnation or social excesses will follow attempts to use them in social discipline. High-school fraternities are probably now on the way to destruction through the action of the college pan-Hellenic council, but the neglect of social leadership that led to the abuses of the fraternity will lead to other evils wherever constructive social control is not established.

The question of whether or not high-school fraternities would be justifiable under any conditions hinges upon whether or not, with their traditions and standards, they can be made to serve a wholesome democratic purpose. There can be no objection to social organization among either high-school or college students, and the secret society makes a legitimate appeal to them. But the wide gap between the social advancement of high-school and college students makes it doubtful whether or not the type of organization fitted to the one could be completely adapted to the other.

It is not enough to forestall or crush the high-school fraternity, however. Social organizations to fulfill the needs they tried to satisfy must be provided. Intimate fellowship should be stimulated. No more hopeful sign that teachers are changing their attitude is to be found than in the extension everywhere of chaperonage, social leadership, and comradeship between teachers and pupils. Social organizations are being formed, social rooms are being set apart, and the same direction provided for social gatherings as for literary and athletic meetings. The whole high-school fraternity problem hinges upon a wise substitution of more wholesome social organizations, and their direction into educational channels. Just how much use can be made of the secrecy, the formulary, and the exclusiveness of the present type of fraternity is an open question; but there is abundant room for some sort of organization that will serve as an educational link to connect the boy's gang to the fraternal spirit as exemplified in adult fraternal organizations.

Student self-government. The fundamentals of student-government have been foreshadowed in the previous discussion. Self-government is the highest type of government, but by the same token is the most difficult to administer. It requires a high grade of team work, and cannot succeed without the quality of leadership and followership in both

teacher and pupils. It has been in successful operation in colleges for years, and, as the traditions and methods of democratic control are spread more widely through the public and become more familiar to the young, it is sure to gain wider acceptance. Certain phases of it are also successfully used in high schools, and where school cities or other devices have been tried, it has frequently been pronounced successful in elementary schools.

Under the various plans in use a certain amount of the teacher's authority in government is delegated to the students. Some form of constitution is adopted providing a governmental device by which the students administer discipline from within. School republics, school states, school cities, or merely self-governing leagues are established, and through this machinery various problems of school life are dealt with. It must be remembered, however, that responsibility always rests with the teacher, and the element of compulsion is presupposed to belong to him. Therefore no such thing as a real democracy can exist, although it can be approached as nearly as the maturity and intelligence of the pupils will permit. The teacher's authority may be carefully masked, but it must not be surrendered. Even in the Freeville Republic, which has served as a model for many efforts, the ultimate element of control has never been surrendered by Mr. George, and in colleges the right to resume faculty control is in the background of the student's mind.

In all pupil government in the public schools the type and the amount of authority exercised must be adapted carefully to the capacity of the pupils, and permanently limited by their immaturity. It must have cautious teacher supervision, and mutual confidence of teacher and pupil in each other's motives and judgments. When all these cautions are observed, however, and the conditions are favorable, the school city or other form of pupil government is the nearest

approach yet made to discipline that is social and purely educative. No teacher should be deluded by imagining that a self-government scheme will work itself, nor should any one be deterred by its difficulty from undertaking such a broadly helpful training device when a careful study of the situation will show a strong probability of its success. It promises the best discipline that our schools can offer and is the sort of control most needed in a democratic society.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. Point out definitely the differences between the pupil attitude confronted by the teacher half a century ago and that of to-day.
2. Illustrate, by specific cases, breaches of discipline arising from purely individualistic impulses, and others arising from social impulses.
3. As a new teacher in a strange community, how would you begin the study of social and family discipline?
4. What are some of the elements of church discipline? of gang discipline? of team discipline?
5. Show how the body of rules read at the opening of the school by the old-time teacher was almost as likely to lead to the punishment of the innocent as the guilty.
6. Why is direct discipline "the type of control adapted to the unfit"?
7. Illustrate the justifiable uses of the military type of discipline in a well-regulated school.
8. Under what conditions would teacher-advisorship in a literary society be personal discipline, and under what conditions would it be social?
9. What type of discipline does the successful athletic coach most generally use? Illustrate.
10. Trace the evolution of the methods of prison discipline. What method seems to be dominant in the penitentiary of your State?
11. What would be the effect of a state law against the corporal punishment of school pupils in your State?
12. In what sense can rewards be intrinsically educative?
13. Why should school organizations be considered a part of school discipline? What means of purely social culture would aid in discipline of the higher sort?
14. Can you suggest a type of high-school organization which would embody the essential gang instincts and virtues without leading to the evils of the present high-school fraternity?
15. Analyze the discipline of the Freeville Republic.
16. How would you proceed in the organization of a seventh- or eighth-grade self-governing group?

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CHAPTER XIV

THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE PROGRAM OF STUDIES

WHILE the socialization of the program of studies is possibly no more important than the socialization of other phases of school life, it is more directly in the hands of leaders in the teaching profession and promises more rapid advancement. Already many progressive superintendents, principals, and teachers have accomplished much in the way of readjustment. In a number of schools the program of studies has been completely reorganized during the last decade. Much remote and impracticable material has been replaced by things more immediately related to the world about us. Many required studies, especially adapted to the needs of the few rather than the many, have been placed on the elective list, and new studies have been introduced to enrich the curriculum. Likewise the teaching of the traditional studies has undergone a radical revision. A serious effort is being made to base the subject-matter and the methodology of each study upon the nature and desires of the child and his needs in the society in which he is expected to spend his future years.

Meaning of socialization. By the socialization of the curriculum is meant the adaptation of the program of studies in both content and method to the nature of the child as he is, and to his needs in the society in which he is to live. The more nearly the school can approach a microcosm of the best in the human society about it, the larger will be its influence in elevating that society. Likewise the more nearly it can give to each child the training he will need in that society, and in the way he is best able to take it, the greater will be

the part of his school life in determining the nature of his total life. Stated conversely, the more remote the school life from ordinary life the less chance it has to influence that life; and the greater the gap between the types of knowledge gained, and the methods and discipline used in the school-room, and in general society the less will be the influences of the school on the future lives of its pupils. This conclusion is forced by the fundamental laws of psychology, and is fully recognized in the newer definitions of education.

The term "socialization" must not be confused with "practicalization" and "vocationalization." It might be possible to read into the two last-named terms all that is meant by socialization, but in ordinary use they are not so inclusive. Socialization does not merely refuse to exclude the cultural idea; rather it lays much emphasis upon it. It insists that culture in its broadest aspects must be a fundamental aim of education. No educational system with a program which does not bear fruitage in the highest culture attainable, can be socialized. Generally, although not necessarily, the vocational, the industrial, and the practical programs have contented themselves with the immediate end of producing economic efficiency. But the socialized program is far broader. It must be practical and to a certain extent vocational, but only because and in so far as culture has a material basis.

Practical nature of culture. Culture is just as practical an end as getting a living; but as human nature and human society are constituted, it follows rather than precedes the fulfillment of the commoner needs of life. The best road to culture lies through the satisfaction of the fundamental needs, with the addition of enough of the comforts and luxuries of existence to provide cultural stimulus. The advocate of vocational education points out truly that civilization has arisen and flourished only upon the sound basis of material

abundance; but it should also be remembered that an educational system is a rather late product of civilization, and hence must work for civilization rather than for the material foundations of civilization. It must be comprehensive, neglecting neither the foundation nor the superstructure. In our educational efforts culture, typifying the best in our civilization, must remain an equally important aim with vocational efficiency, typifying the most fundamental in our civilization.

Complaints against our schools on the ground of their inefficiency in training our young people for practical affairs generally overlook the practical nature of culture. They have their gaze centered upon the production side, and fail to scrutinize the consumption side of life. Yet getting a living would scarcely be held more important than living. Merely producing an abundance never produced civilization; it is getting an abundance and using that abundance wisely that civilizes. Abundance may enervate a state and has often done so, just as satiety enervates an individual. Luxury may lead to corruption as well as to culture. Industrial and vocational education have in mind primarily the increase of production, and only secondarily the refinement of consumption; social education aims at a balance between production and consumption, an equalization of training in getting a living, and in the use of the means of living in advancing culture. Socialized education must provide training that will function in the home, on the playground, in the church, the club, the community, in politics, and in every phase of a well-rounded life.

The test of socialization. There is no magic in the term "socialization." It merely expresses the aims of an education as broad as life. But this education must be specific as well as broad. It must be subject to test. The tests applied must be both quantitative and qualitative, both individual

and social. One of the difficulties of the specific tests now being worked out in arithmetic, reading, spelling, and penmanship is that they are largely quantitative. Their attempt is to determine how many elementary processes a child can go through with in a certain period of time. They test mechanical processes rather than soul processes. As technical tests they are valuable. It is abundantly worth while to gain facility in the use of the tools of learning, and to be able to know when we have gained it. If this facility is not made too much of an end, if it does not lead to a returning overemphasis on drill, the means of knowing when a predetermined standard of skill is attained in fundamentals will eliminate much waste and will greatly increase efficiency in our elementary education.

But these formal tests are not yet socialized. An application of the handwriting scale does not test the willingness of the pupil to use handwriting in increasing his range of communication. Horace Greeley was a poor penman, but a good and incessant writer. Many good penmen are not good letter writers, and could not write an acceptable note for the local newspaper. Some people are facile in the mechanical use of figures, but fail to use the arithmetical sense or number judgment in their business and household affairs. A person may be able to read accurately and understandingly, and yet fail to use this ability in acquiring information or inspiration from the printed page. What is needed to supplement these mechanical tests is a series of social tests that will determine the use to be made of the skills acquired, and that will measure the values of the knowledge and training-materials embodied in the curriculum.

Direct tests of the use to be made in after life of the skills acquired in school are impossible, but indirect social tests of great value are being worked out through social

surveys. For example, in spelling, local and occupational vocabularies are being collected, and special attention is being paid to drill on the words most often misspelled. In grammar, the errors most often committed in the community are enumerated, and special attention is given to the principles underlying them and the steps necessary to be taken in eradicating them. Similar social tests are being applied to arithmetic by making a study of the problems and the types of figuring done in the homes of the pupils and in the business of the community, and by collecting actual problems as a basis for the arithmetic taught in the schools. The same principle is being applied in civics, geography, hygiene, literature, science, and domestic economy. The criterion of social use is the nearest approach we have to a test of social value.

Possible objections. It may be objected that communities change, and present usage will be obsolete by the time the pupils attain maturity. But the principle of progressive adaptation is inherent in the social survey. It attempts to discover and evaluate the public demand. By so doing it gives the proper attitude, and the individual trained to meet and absorb the best in his environment will have the highest training any local institution can hope to give. Moreover, a social test need not be limited to a locality or to contemporaneous society. It may be nation-wide and unlimited historically. The only demand is that of perspective and proportion. The locality and the present needs must be given the relative attention they will likely command in coming years.

Another objection that might be raised is that some of the most ambitious and most able pupils will advance beyond local community needs and standards. This doubtless will always be true, but the test of social value is not a limiting one. One must grow up in an environment, and to build

upon the best in that environment is the surest preparation for advancing into better social relationships. Special emphasis upon the eradication of provincial weaknesses does not prevent the teaching of principles and the encouragement of the ambitious pupil to attain the best and highest standard that any environment demands. It does not in any way lower ideals, but does provide a direct means of approaching toward the wider life and a start toward attaining the best ideals the pupils can grasp.

Aims of a socialized program. The fundamental ends to be sought in a socialized program of studies are appreciation, information, and utilization as applied to the body of knowledge, principles, and ideals of civilization. To these might be prefixed the training required skillfully to use the tools of learning, such as reading, writing, and number, unless we accept this skill as an incidental in attaining the above ends. Since the proper training in these fundamental processes requires their use in attaining the other ends, the author prefers to consider them as incidentals. The best teaching methods now treat them as such, and the socializing process demands that they be dealt with as means rather than as ends in elementary education.

Appreciation. Desire, or want, is the basis of all action. Either the desire to live or to propagate, or the auxiliary desire to avoid pain which would cause injury to one of the above functions, is the basis of action in the single-celled animal. This same principle of desire in more complex development leads to the activities of the higher animals. Man is driven by like impulses, variously manifested through an almost infinitely complex social, physical, and psychic organization. The more intense the desire the more heroic the effort will be to satisfy it. Since it is intensity of desire that leads to intensity of effort, and intensity of effort that produces the surplus of result that leads to progress, and

since the purpose of formal education is to produce surplus results above those which might be attained without it, its basic principle must be the stimulation of variety and intensity of desire. This principle is recognized fully in the newer pedagogy which strives to educate motive, or to stimulate the proper motive as the basis for the accomplishment of the end desired.

Our kindergarten and primary grades have gone far toward recognizing motive as the basis of their work. Dr. Montessori has gone even farther in recognizing the child's desire as a starting-point for securing rapid progress. Formerly the tools of learning were taught under duress. Children were taught their letters, spelling, and number tables without consulting their wishes. In our better schools of the present motives are sought, and the desire to learn these fundamentals for the purpose of attaining some desired end is first secured. By this more scientific method the results are found to be more satisfactory in every particular. The child not only acquires greater skill in the use of the tools when they are taught to a large extent incidentally, but he acquires a larger appreciation of their social usage and importance. He is already started well on his road toward a desire for the better things of a wider out-reaching curriculum.

The intermediate teachers have caught the new spirit from the experience of primary teachers. Motive is everywhere sought and used as the basis of intensive effort. Much even of routine and drill work are being elevated to the intensive plane. If a desire to learn geography, history, language, hygiene, and arithmetic is implanted, the teaching of those subjects is made simple and, comparatively speaking, easy. Moreover, the gaining of a fact knowledge of those subjects without an understanding of their future uses and an appreciation of their values will not only be largely futile

as education, but it will tend to create in the mind of the boy or girl the feeling that education ends with formal schooling. Real language teaching must leave in the pupil's mind an appreciation of the value of reading, writing, and speaking good English, not only in school, but throughout life. Good teaching of hygiene gives not merely a knowledge of hygienic living, but must leave in the pupil a desire to live hygienically and give a proper valuation of health. Similar ideas of appreciation of values and stimulation of permanent desires must be implanted in the other studies.

Information. However much our earlier education may have overvalued knowledge, it will not do to assume that it is not one of the fundamental ends of education. Knowledge may not be power, but it is certainly valuable equipment for making power effective. To do may be more important than to know, but in our highly organized and complex life the only sure basis for right action is accurate knowledge. The larger and more valuable the range of knowledge an individual possesses the more fruitful his actions may be made. The same is true of a social group. A community's wealth, or its government, or its culture, is largely dependent upon its knowledge along these particular lines. A nation of philosophers might not be self-governing or a nation of artists might not be self-supporting, but each would be master of valuable knowledge in its particular sphere.

A properly socialized program must take stock of the possibilities of those for whom it is made, and the right knowledge areas must be marked out. A curriculum emphasizing the fine arts would not be effective for the frontiersman because the knowledge and skills attained would not be needed in the environment. Neither would a classical curriculum be suited to a factory town where nearly all of the pupils are children of working-men and a large majority are destined to become industrial workers. Similarly an

industrial program would not be the best adapted to selected pupils whose present ideals and future needs would call for greater emphasis upon more specifically cultural things.

The informational studies most emphasized should correspond to the major interests of the community. Even the professional man living in a highly industrialized community finds a knowledge of technical processes and mechanical forces more useful in his practice than non-professional knowledge of other sorts. So there is real justification in choosing the knowledge areas dealt with in our schools from local sources, even though they be not in complete harmony with the needs of certain selected individuals. All facts are not of equal value, nor are facts of equal general value of the same importance in all localities. For example, a technical knowledge of agriculture may be of value to all men in some communities, and of very moderate value to any one in other communities.

It may be said truly that there are some realms of knowledge needed by all. These form the stable factors in a curriculum and should be embodied in required studies. Knowledge of self, of nature, and of human society are fundamentals. Hygiene, elementary science, geography, history, civics, language practice, and arithmetical practice belong in every course of study. Beyond the elements of these studies there should be differentiation. The knowledge groups should henceforth receive emphasis pretty much in proportion to their values in the local community. This principle is being recognized even in our universities, as shown by the differentiation in our state institutions. Great agricultural schools are being developed in our agricultural States, engineering and technical schools in our manufacturing centers, and medical schools where large hospitals are required. England has recently developed new univer-

sities to meet regional needs in such places as Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham.

Adjustment to local needs. But the greater change is needed and has come in public school education. Japan, England, Germany, and other European countries are struggling to outdo each other in the attempt to provide each child with the knowledge he most needs. In the United States, cities from Boston to Los Angeles and from the Gulf to the Great Lakes are striving to adjust the school work offered to the specific needs of the pupil. A decade ago Superintendent C. H. Keyes of Hartford, Connecticut, wrote: —

My own city is known throughout the business world as a banking, insurance, and manufacturing city. We employ thousands of clerks, accountants, copyists, bookkeepers, typists, and stenographers in these offices of our banks, insurance companies, and manufactories. The factories are devoted largely to the production of high-grade metal manufactures. . . . In their production we employ thousands of machinists, pattern-makers, draftsmen, smiths, and other high-grade mechanics. The ranks of all these must be recruited from the boys trained in our public schools.

We recognize, accordingly, that penmanship has in our schools a place which it is not generally accorded or entitled to in many other cities. . . . Similarly work in wood and iron is begun as low as the fifth grade of the grammar schools and carried through the high school. Drawing and design begin in the kindergarten and are available through every year to the end of the high-school course. Typewriting, stenography, and bookkeeping are taught in our high school. Our work in pattern-making, mechanical drawing, and machine-shop practice is more extended than might be justified in a city of different commercial life. Our evening high school has not hesitated to undertake the training in its shops and drafting-rooms of ambitious young men from the factories. Without conscious formulation of the doctrine that the schools of the community should teach whatever the business of the community demands in a large way, we have accepted it in practice.¹

¹ *Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1906, pp. 204-05.

The adaptation of school work to community needs which Superintendent Keyes carried into effect as a practical school man has now been formulated into a basic doctrine of pedagogy. Every wide-awake school man hears the call of the economic world for a trained product; but the community demand is broader than the industrial world. There is a call to citizenship, to social usefulness, to artistic and moral living. The socialized curriculum must include the knowledge areas that provide the facts and principles which lay the foundations of efficiency in all realms of civilized society, but those areas upon which the greatest emphasis should be placed must be determined by public demand, as shown by the social survey.

Utilization. Whatever may be said in favor of the proper instincts and emotional attitudes toward life and of the value of knowledge, the final test of education is character — character as wrought out in action. Education must be a dynamic force in the lives of individuals and nations. A person might have good instincts and be lethargic; he might be filled with knowledge and be a dependent; but if he has a virile character, a forceful personality, if he accomplishes things, he must be reckoned with in society. Personality is intangible and elusive, and means of developing it are largely indirect; but education that functions properly must broaden, deepen, and vitalize the character of individuals and communities.

Utilization may be defined as the application of the emotional force and the knowledge possessed by the individual to the accomplishment of his purposes. These purposes, however, to be socially efficient must be moral. True education leads toward moralization. From the pragmatist's point of view whatever succeeds in the long run and in the highest sense is right. Socialized education leading to all-round social efficiency, then, must be the best moral edu-

cation which can be offered. This does not preclude religious and didactic instruction; on the contrary, it demands their use in so far as they lead to moral effectiveness, either with regard to personal habits and ideals or community altruism.

It would appear from a sociological analysis, however, that the moral instruction demanded of our schools is of a less definite but more effective sort. It implies the extension of the primary ideals of the home, the playground, and the neighborhood to wider areas of human association. Loyalty, fairness, truthfulness, sympathy, and toleration are best taught, not by iteration and authority, but in the midst of the struggle of life. Hence moralization becomes largely an incidental product of organization. As the school extends the simpler organization and ideals of the family or the playground, it extends the virtues of more intimate association to groups of less intimate association. The virtues of the small family group tend to enfold the whole grade or the whole building or the whole city. "Our judgment of conduct in association always tends to appraisal of it as good or bad according to its assumed effect upon the largest range of associations that we can take account of." ¹

Thus the bad boy in a school group is the one whose conduct injuriously affects the school. This concept of a school morality is as much above the idea of correct behavior or morality in the home as it is below that of correct attitudes toward the State or society in general. The school, then, should form an intermediate group connecting the smaller social groups of childhood with the larger social, occupational, or political groupings of later life. If that be true, the moralization that will carry farthest from the schoolroom into life will be the moral products of group relationships experienced during the school career.

¹ Albion W. Small, *General Sociology*, p. 682.

New social activities. That this is being recognized is shown by the unusual effort in recent years to introduce all sorts of organization into school work. Athletic teams — football, basket-ball, baseball, track — are encouraged; literary and dramatic organizations and debating teams are stimulated; social clubs and festive celebrations are fostered and supervised; boy scouts, girl scouts, and Christian associations are supported; class organizations are sponsored and class spirit built up; and, finally, inter-school organizations are established to add zest to local patriotism and to extend the reach of small-group virtues. Self-government is introduced as far as possible in order to regulate conduct from within the social body. School cities are being organized to awaken civic interest, civic ideals, and civic intelligence. Even classroom work is being organized for the purpose of stimulating rivalry, initiative, leadership and followership, and self-control and group responsibility. In fact, every phase of citizenship is being brought into the child's life at the earliest feasible moment, and training in the sort of social activities and relationships which he will later have to meet is brought about in as real situations as can be devised. All of these provide a basis for moral training superior to anything previously devised by offering pertinent occasions and specific opportunities for emphasizing and emotionalizing didactic instruction.

Again, in utilization there is the demand for the social survey. What sort of activities are demanded of the product of the schools? What are the community tests of efficiency, not merely economic, but social and cultural, that the graduate of the schools will have to meet? How can the schools aid in advancing community standards and then supply the demand for leaders to maintain living on the higher plane established? These things, when learned, will determine the specialization necessary in the schools. This specialization

will concern itself, not merely with the studies offered, but with the particular things in each study to be emphasized, and something of the methods to be employed in teaching that study in a way that will lead to its utilization. The school, then, by the closer adaptation of its work to community needs, should be able to increase the vocational output, elevate the taste and joy of living, and improve the type of citizen activity found in any community.

Means of socialization. The specific means of socializing the curriculum are four in number: (1) the elimination of the materials least useful in attaining the ends desired; (2) the addition of wide ranges of knowledge demanded, but not now included in school courses; (3) the organization of this new material in harmony with the old into a well-ordered program; (4) socialization of the methods of teaching the reorganized material. These elements of socialization must be applied to the curriculum as a whole and to each of the subjects included in the curriculum.

For both eliminations and additions the social survey is necessary. In just what subjects, and in just what materials in these subjects, has society a right to expect that the pupils leaving its schools will be proficient? This can be determined only by learning what the larger society which the children are about to enter demands of its mature citizens. Various fields of knowledge and various qualities of mind are of unequal value in the struggle of life. If it is discovered that the pupil does not need the knowledge or training gained in Latin or history or physiology in the larger society he is to *enter*, then those studies should be dropped from the curriculum. If it is learned that parts of those studies are of little utility, those parts should be either curtailed or eliminated. Further, if it is found that certain studies now in the curriculum are of less practical or cultural value than others not offered, then the less important

must give way to the more important. The same principle must apply to portions of a study; and if, for example, modern history is decided to be of greater importance than ancient history, then the emphasis must be shifted from the ancient to the more recent periods. Again, if spoken language is more important than written language in present-day society, then oral expression should receive more careful attention than written language.

A more striking illustration may be taken from group differentiation. If the knowledge and training demanded of women in human society is the same as that of men, then the curriculum should be the same for both; but if there is, or rather, is to remain a differentiation in the practical work and ideals of the sexes, then a differentiation in the program of studies is necessary. If home-making is to remain the chief province of woman, and if her ideals are to center about domestic life, then the core of her education must be fully socialized domestic economy. This does not mean that some phases of domestic economy would not be equally important for men, and some business and professional training for women, but it does mean that so long as our economic and cultural ideals demand different things of the sexes, their education should be equally as different as their functions in society.

Organization of materials. After the elimination of the more useless parts of our program of studies, and the addition of such new materials as seems advisable, it will be necessary to reorganize the unadjusted material into some sort of a harmonious whole. Old material being removed and new material substituted will cause inevitable confusion, but a certain amount of confusion is a necessary concomitant of progress. Every adoption of a new invention or an improved process in a factory makes useless the capital and some of the skill acquired under old conditions.

Every change requires new investments in buildings and machinery, and a new alignment of the labor force. The same must be true in education; and, as advance causes waste in the industrial world, so it must call for waste and excess efforts in the educational world. What is required in both cases is a readjustment with as little loss as possible.

Each new adjustment in the curriculum as a whole, or in a particular study, renders ineffective a course or part of a course which had developed a certain body of teaching materials and traditions. Likewise the introduction of new materials calls for extraordinary expenditures in books, apparatus, and teaching energy. New subjects require new equipment and newly trained teachers. These are often not to be had, and hence the newest subjects in the curriculum are likely to be the ones most poorly taught. The subject will probably be dubbed a "fad" by the conservative teacher and the critical public, and its handling by inexperienced teachers too often justifies the criticism. But progress demands continual change and adaptation, and the skill of the educator must be tested by his ability to reorganize his work in an efficient manner as new demands are made upon it.

Socialized methods of teaching. The final means of socializing the course of study is the use of socialized methods of teaching. This implies no less a change from present practice than the changes in administration demanded above. It is fully as important to use socialized methods in teaching a subject, such as history, or hygiene, or drawing, as to require that socialized knowledge be imparted. If society does a thing in a particular way, and that way is most effective in real life, then the method of teaching that thing in our schools, to be most effective, must correspond to the social method.

This can be illustrated in the teaching of history. Society

uses history largely to illuminate present-day problems. A particular question of the hour is discussed, and whatever light history can bring to bear upon it is used in creating public opinion concerning it. Now, the method of teaching history that will best develop this tendency to use past experiences in stabilizing and correcting present practice — historical-mindedness — is the same method of connecting historical facts and events with present-day occurrences. This demands a much larger use of recent history and current events, together with historical parallels between past events and present conditions, than the ordinary teaching of history now shows. Past life and present life are so closely woven into a network of cause and effect that the relationship between the two must constantly be kept in the foreground in any properly socialized teaching of history.

What is true of socialized method in teaching history is equally true in other subjects. The further any subject-matter is removed from the daily lives of the pupils the less direct its appeal, and the further the method of handling that material is from the method the pupil is using outside the schoolroom and will have to use in later life, the less direct and intensive the training for citizenship it will provide. Socialized method demands that the teaching be done in as real situations as possible. While the counting-room cannot be introduced into the school for the purpose of teaching commercial work, nor the factory for developing industrial skill, yet the more nearly situations similar to the business house or factory can be devised, or opportunities for using their methods be utilized in ordinary school affairs, the more directly these methods will habituate the pupils to respond efficiently to social demands. Every subject should be so taught that the mental reactions it produces will be the sort of reactions called for in later life. In this way only can the pupil be given the mental attitudes

and habits which will be necessary or most vitally useful in coping with the problems to be met in the organized relationships of the work-a-day world.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. In what sense is culture practical?
2. Explain the cultural value of the "refinement of consumption."
3. To what extent will the popularization of the use of the typewriter undermine the necessity of penmanship drill? Should typewriting be taught in the elementary school?
4. Will the collection of actual problems from the actual business of the community for use in the classroom socialize arithmetic? If not, what more is needed?
5. Why is there a danger that the use of educational tests will lead to an overemphasis upon drill?
6. Should reading, writing, and numbers above the third grade ever be taught as special drill studies aside from the content of the materials used in teaching them?
7. Should the study of music be begun with technique, or with general musical appreciation? Give reasons for your judgment.
8. What would you say of the truth of the old adage that "knowledge is power"?
9. Illustrate the statement that the bad boy in school is the one whose conduct injuriously affects the school.
10. How do school organizations promote moral training?
11. Is modern history more important to the average person than ancient? If it is, why is ancient history more frequently a required study in our high schools than modern?
12. Explain how the adoption of a new invention leads to waste in the manufacturing world. Also how the adoption of any change in the curriculum leads to the inevitable "costs of progress."
13. Compare the present curriculum of some particular high school with that in the same high school ten, twenty, or thirty years ago.
14. Show specifically the growth of content in the elementary-school curriculum during the last half-century.
15. Write a paper or make a class report applying the principles of socialization outlined in this chapter to the socialization of some particular study in the elementary school, such as arithmetic, civics, hygiene, composition, or geography.

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CHAPTER XV

THE SOCIAL BASIS OF UTILITARIAN EDUCATION

NEW PROBLEMS OF MASS EDUCATION

THE rise of the masses to an interest in education has developed new problems for the educator. Programs originally devised for the children of special classes of the population, with limited numbers, living in favorable environments and possessing leisure-class desires, cannot be effectively used for the masses. Their interests are primarily utilitarian. Culture has always had, and must continue to have, an economic background. Before the youth whose future is to be that of a manual laborer can gain an abiding interest in the purely "cultural inheritance of the race," he must be assured of a living. Before he is given a taste for the finer arts of life his environment must promise him permanent access to those arts. In the mean time his education must be efficient. It must enable him to gain the wherewithal to live comfortably. Culture does not appeal to a hungry man, nor art to one in rags. It is the business of the educator to prepare the youth for a successful career in his probable future environment. No more important creator of that environment is to be found than his vocation. About this as a central core will revolve his ambition, his chief friendships, and his most vital interests. Very largely in proportion to the promise the school can offer of aid in attaining success in his chosen vocation will the school be able to obtain his loyalty and his best efforts.

The social foundation of education for the masses is therefore utilitarian, and must rest primarily upon three

propositions: (1) the fundamental purpose of the long period of youth; (2) the dominance of the economic interest in society; and (3) the importance of vocation in determining social efficiency.

1. *The purpose of youth*

The meaning of infancy. The first of these propositions has been elaborated by John Fiske in his *The Meaning of Infancy*. He has shown that as animals rise in the scale of intelligence the period of infancy is prolonged in order to provide more time for educative training. Corresponding to the prolongation of this educational period in the life of the young animal is a constantly increasing plasticity of brain and nervous structure, fitted to record the impressions and reactions of the environment upon the particular animal. So helpless, so plastic, so complex, so full of possibilities and potentialities is the human infant that it takes nearly a third of a long life to mature his powers. Moreover, the higher the civilization and the larger the possibilities of culture, the greater will be the length of infancy. This is shown quite strikingly in the South, where the black child develops much more rapidly than the white child up to eight or ten years of age, but is then passed and henceforth never overtakes the white child, with his centuries of accumulated mental and spiritual inheritance on which to build. It is at the cost of this long period of preparation that the superiority of cultivated man is purchased, but the more nearly the whole of it is used in careful training for the individual's life purpose, the greater will be his accomplishment.

Parallels in the industrial world. Parallels to this long period of preparation are numerous in the world about us, and may serve to enforce the principle. When constructing one of the large cement abutments of the Panama Canal,

two million dollars were spent for machinery and equipment before a single bucket of cement was laid; but it was this extensive preparation that enabled the engineers to handle the large quantities called for at so cheap a rate per foot and thus lessen the total cost. A similar principle holds all through the industrial world. The more perfectly the whole job is planned from the beginning, the greater the prevision and the more complete the preparation, the more economically can the work be done. A like principle holds true in political, social, and institutional work, and it is conspicuously true in education. The more complete our educational training, provided it is of the right sort, the more aid it will render in life accomplishment.

This principle is fully recognized in our higher education. The first third of life is required to train the minister, the lawyer, the physician, and the engineer for his profession. A similar period is recognized as necessary to train leaders and masters for the larger tasks of life. Almost as long a time was taken to train the barbarian as a hunter and fighter, to develop the craftsman through apprenticeship in the mediæval and in the early modern age, and to provide the varied types of skill required of the recent frontiersman. With the downfall of the apprenticeship system, the disappearance of the strenuous life of the frontier, and the extraordinary division of labor in our highly organized industries, we somehow have lost our educational perspective. We train people elaborately for the professions and for the higher arts of life, but overlook vocational preparation for those who perform the simpler tasks.

Need for the vocational training of youth. When only three per cent of our people lived in cities, many of whom could gain vocational training through some form of apprenticeship, the problem was not serious. The ninety-seven per cent who lived in rural communities could gain

the necessary education for efficiency and occupational skill through work on the farm or in the home. But since nearly fifty per cent of our people now live in cities, with but little opportunity to spend the later years of youth in developmental work, some means of securing vocational efficiency are demanded. The old informal method of gaining occupational skill having become impossible for the masses, some formal method must be devised to guarantee a proper use of the full period of youth in training for an efficient life.

We have become democratic enough to demand universal education, but our interpretation of the term "education" is narrow. We are about to accomplish universal literacy, but the ability to read and write and figure forms merely the basis of an education. Education includes all the forces that combine to produce individual and social efficiency. Vocational training is one of these forces which provides direct education of an especially effective kind. It has gradually been taken over by the schools until to-day training for all the higher vocations is recognized as a school duty. Real democracy in education cannot exist until training for all vocations is put upon the same basis. A school for all of the people must educate for cabinet-making, clerical work, and the industries, no less than for teaching, preaching, and practicing medicine. If the schools train a lawyer until he is twenty-four years old, they should not lose their grip on the tradesman at a much lesser age. Each attains his maximum efficiency at practically the same age, and the great need of the industrial world, as voiced from a hundred sources, is for men who have not ceased to grow in all-round efficiency until the educational period of youth is exhausted. Educators may rest assured, whatever their personal feelings may be, that vocational training in our schools will grow until other occupations are put alongside the professions in our school curricula. Some sort of educational program will be

devised whereby society will see that three fourths or more of our boys and girls are not left to drift about in the industrial world, and perhaps waste the precious years from fourteen or fifteen to twenty-three or twenty-four, without intelligent direction along lines that will increase their usefulness in later years.

Prolonging the educational infancy. That the large school mortality of the elementary grades is partly unnecessary was shown by the investigations of the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education. It was found that most of the boys and girls between fourteen and sixteen who dropped out of school had no particular reason therefor, and that about half of them would have stayed at least a year or two longer if there had been any sort of trade work offered. A similar investigation in Chicago showed that three fourths would have done so. The Minneapolis Survey showed that 53.6 per cent of the children left school because of dislike of the schools, or a lack of interest in school work, or trouble with teachers and grades, or a belief that it was not worth while, or ill health, much of which was caused by school conditions, while only 46.3 per cent left from economic necessity or the desire to earn money.

Moreover, in Massachusetts the establishment of a few industrial schools led to the immediate return of five per cent of the fourteen-to-sixteen-year class to the schools. In addition to those who might be held in school a few years longer by vocational work, many would be led to continue their training for efficiency in the continuation schools after securing positions in the industrial world. The vocational motive alone seems to be powerful and direct enough to retain youth in purely developmental training through the whole of the prolonged infancy of cultivated man.

2. *Importance of the economic interest in society*

The economic factor. Regarding the importance of the economic interest in human society there is much difference of opinion. The difference is quantitative, however, all agreeing that it is fundamental. Some writers make it the basis for the interpretation of all history. Carl Marx and the socialists in general treat it as the determining factor of life. The early political economists dealt with the "economic man" as if he were the whole man. Sociologists all emphasize the economic factor.

Material civilization consists in the utilization of the materials and forces of nature. The spiritual part of civilization is at least conditioned upon material civilization. It does not derogate from its worth to admit that without a material basis it cannot exist. The moment such a basis is supplied, it comes forth in all ages and races of men. It may, therefore, be regarded as innate in man and potential everywhere, but a flower so delicate that it can only bloom in the rich soil of material prosperity. No amount of care devoted to it alone could make it flourish in the absence of suitable conditions; with such conditions it requires no special attention.¹

Economic surplus and intellectual progress. Historians point out the fact that civilization first got its start in regions where conditions of soil and climate were favorable to the production of a surplus of the comforts of life. The rich and fertile valleys of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates, and the coastal plains about the Mediterranean all possessed these natural advantages. They not only supplied the necessities of life with ease, but offered such reward for extra effort and forethought that a surplus of products was accumulated. This surplus stimulated ingenuity in trading, the invention of new tools and weapons, the discovery of new processes of industry, and the accumulation of a store of knowledge. With all these came leisure and its

¹ Dealey and Ward, *Sociology*, p. 35.

accompanying inspiration to seek avocations providing a new type of enjoyment, the cultural. Literature, the arts, science, philosophy, and statecraft followed. These could flourish only on an economic foundation offering leisure and leadership.

Professor Ward has shown, quite conclusively, the relation of wealth and leisure and opportunity to the production of men of great talent and achievement. By an analysis of men of genius in France from 1300 to 1825, based upon the figures of M. Odin and others, he has shown that urban regions were thirteen times as prolific of genius, in proportion to population, as were the rural regions. Paris was thirty-five times, and the châteaux in the neighborhood of the cities one hundred times, as prolific as the rural communities. This fecundity of the favored classes he traces back, not to nature, but to nurture, not to heredity, but to environment.

The leading environmental factors are: (1) centers of population containing special intellectual stimuli and facilities; (2) ample material means insuring freedom from care, economic security, leisure, and the wherewithal to supply the apparatus of research; (3) a social position such as is capable of producing a sense of self respect, dignity, and reserve power; and (4) careful and prolonged intellectual training during youth.¹

Leisure and education. These factors are later reduced to the various forms of opportunity.

The two principal forms of opportunity are leisure and education. Both are furnished by the economic and social environments, but more especially the first. As we have seen, all environments are favorable to the development of genius only in so far as they secure education, and therefore leisure must be regarded as a means to education. It may be called negative education, and differs from positive education in being a condition to self-education. It

¹ Lester F. Ward, *Applied Sociology*, p. 224.

was the great school of mankind before there was any such thing as positive education. It began with the priesthood, and to it we owe all we possess of early Indian, Chinese, Chaldean, and Egyptian learning and science. The ruling classes of Greece and Rome possessed it, and but for it they would have accomplished little in art, literature, or philosophy. Throughout the Middle Ages what little was done in the intellectual world was chiefly the work of high church officers, exempt from all material concerns. In more modern times leisure was secured through social position, the nobility and high clergy being all men of leisure. . . . More and more, too, professional men, where successful in their practice, acquire large leisure. It is only quite recently that business men, the *bourgeoisie*, by the accumulation of wealth, have acquired leisure and have begun to devote a portion of it to disinterested pursuits.¹

Why the nineteenth century was so wonderful. By applying this reasoning it is easy to see why the nineteenth century has been so prolific in great achievements and great men that it has been well pronounced the "wonderful century." Wealth is cumulative. As it piles up, production is made ever easier and leisure becomes more widespread. The advantages and opportunities of education and a favorable environment have come within the reach of rapidly enlarging numbers. Not isolated individuals and families, but large classes of people now have sufficient leisure to devote a part of their time to invention, scholarship, or artistic achievement. A large share of the achievements of the nineteenth century have been made by people who had no private utilitarian vocation. It is generally agreed that the efficiency of the national, and especially the municipal, governments of England and Germany, are due quite as much to the unpaid service of expert committees as it is to the paid officials. Professional politicians such as Gladstone and Salisbury and Bismarck have led to a certain type of efficiency in Germany and England that the more democratic political service of the United States has been unable

¹ Lester F. Ward, *Applied Sociology*, pp. 242-43.

to rival. Only recently has the professional politician of the leisure class made a particular impression on this country in the person of Theodore Roosevelt.

Leisure and the fine arts. Another feature of American life to be explained on the same basis is our failure to produce a proper relative number of scholars, musicians, artists, and literary men. These pursuits are born of leisure, and accomplishment in them is limited by public appreciation and artistic environment. We have been so busy reclaiming a wilderness and building up a material basis for future achievement that we have had neither the time, nor the returns from vested capital which make for leisure, nor the inclination to develop the fine arts of life. The test of our fecundity in producing cultural greatness is just now beginning. On the basis of our unparalleled resources we have built a democratic prosperity that is more widely distributed than that of any other nation in any age. We have acquired the facilities of leisure, and with our wealth are accumulating the resources of culture in art galleries, musical associations, libraries, and fully equipped universities. As our growing leisure is used in elevating cultural avocations into serious vocations, we may expect to see our nation lead in the production of masters in the arts, as its heroic material efforts have led to superiority in the development of leaders in invention, mechanical ingenuity, and business organization. Only then can our type of democracy prove its efficiency or establish its cultural prominence, and these results wait upon a scientific education for the proper use of the leisure that our great wealth has made possible, together with the efficient training of all our youth for vocational production in order to guarantee a continuance of that wealth as our increasing population encroaches upon our natural resources.

3. *The importance of vocations in human society*

Vocation and social efficiency. The third sociological basis of vocational education is the importance of vocation in securing social efficiency. While none deny the value of one's vocation in his total life-work, yet many of our institutions dealing with youth constantly overlook it in mapping out their specialized programs. The State, the Church, the school, the reformatory, even the business world, have too frequently followed an idealistic delusion that the youth will somehow drop into his particular niche in life and become a useful member of society, regardless of whether or not he is specifically trained for anything practical. That such is not the case is in evidence all about us. One of the chief benefits of civilization is the more extended and more effective training of youth that an organized society can offer, and the more directly that training can be made to function in the larger relations of life the greater its benefits.

That this training should prepare for vocational efficiency appears final when we remember that all effort in the biological world and in the early human stage is based upon the two fundamental life needs — those of existence and perpetuation of the species. As human society developed, these fundamental purposes were differentiated into the varied economic and social demands of a complex society. Moreover, the existence of economic desires and motives are foundational. Upon the economic world the cultural world is superimposed. Most of the social structures of the present originated in occupational groups, groups that gradually differentiated and specialized for the better satisfying of divergent wants. The original occupational differentiation was that between the work of men and that of women. Later the religious work went to a priesthood, legal and military protection to an organized government, eco-

conomic production to slaves, serfs, tradesmen, and business men. As wants multiplied and facilities for expediting production increased, many separate vocations arose. Artisans, traders, workmen, capitalists, professional men, housekeepers, etc., were differentiated, and each of these occupations split up into highly specialized groups. This process continued until to-day, in highly organized and highly capitalized industry, the division of labor is so minute that scores, even hundreds, of persons are coöperating in the manufacture of a single commodity, such as a pair of shoes.

Increasing emphasis on vocation. Moreover, this specialization is growing more rapidly to-day than ever before. New vocations are developing every day, and old ones are changing. Economic evolution tends ever toward more, rather than less, emphasis on vocation. The purpose of specialization is to secure greater skill and ease in doing effective work, but in our rapidly changing society the basis for this skill must be in the right educational preparation for it. Both general vocational knowledge and technical skill must be acquired somewhere. Society must see that these are acquired either through some sort of educational plant run by the industries themselves, or it must assume the responsibility through its system of public schools. This apparent alternative, however, at least in the United States, does not exist. We have no governmental machinery to compel the industries to offer educational training. Many of them are doing it, but often it is narrow in aim and haphazard in quality. Business too often seeks economic, not human, returns, and cannot be expected to plan for distant gains or, in any large sense, for the public welfare. If we cannot trust the people to gain the rudiments of an education without compulsory attendance at school, neither can we trust them to become efficient industrial workers without the training that will make success easy and fairly certain. Our

prisons and reformatories and philanthropic organizations have awakened to the value of vocational training in preventing vagrancy, vice, and crime, and have established remedial industrial schools. The negro question is now being scientifically approached through industrial training. Germany has shown its effectiveness in international trade competition. Our public schools have lagged behind the schools of other nations in recognizing the value of the vocational motive and the need of vocational training for the masses. Consequently many of our best-paid technical positions are held by foreigners. However, within recent years, many of our schools have entered the vocational field, and others must follow as the need is made manifest and the possibilities are demonstrated.

Relation of vocational to liberal education. It has been previously pointed out that there have been three lines of educational evolution; from the classes to the masses, from private to public, and from the ornamental to the useful. Each of these fundamental trends of education looks toward a more definite training for the ordinary as well as for the extraordinary tasks of life. That they are heading toward a better training for vocational work will not be questioned, but the nature of that vocational preparation is doubtful enough to lead to a variety of theories regarding the near future of our educational practice. Some would hold that in the long run a liberal education will furnish the highest preparation for vocation as well as for other phases of life. Others believe that specialized vocational education is becoming necessary, not only in the competitive industrial world, but to provide a sufficient basis for democratic cultural development.

Just where, it may be asked, is the point of departure between the two theories? It lies in the immediate aim of school work. Snedden says:—

It is the aim of liberal education to give mastery of those arts — reading, writing, numbers, drawing — which constitute the open doors to the world's stock of knowledge and ideals: and to add the beginnings of those studies — history, literature, science, art — which contribute to the enlightenment and enlargement of the individual for the purpose both of personal gratification and enjoyment, and of giving him the outlook, the ideals, and the knowledge which render him a better member of the social group to which he belongs.¹

The aim of vocational education, on the other hand, is more specific. Its controlling purpose is to prepare as directly as possible for vocational efficiency. On the individual side its aim is to give to each person the general foundation of knowledge and the technical skill required to assure at least a modicum of success in some recognized calling. From the social standpoint it aims to direct education toward increasing economic efficiency by adapting the laborer to his occupation, and enabling him to improve the methods and conditions of his life-work as well as to increase its output. It places the chief educational emphasis upon the economic rather than the cultural, side of life. Liberal education aims to approach employment from the cultural side; vocational education plans to approach culture from the employment side. Both have the same ultimate objective in view; that is, total social efficiency. One holds that culture has been, and will continue to be, based upon economic abundance; the other that prosperity should follow, rather than precede, culture as a determining factor of life. The vocationalist is likely to hold the culturist a dreamer; the culturist to accuse the vocationalist of being materialistic. One is accused of being impractical; the other of aiming too low.

No essential conflict. Each of these positions is overstated by its advocates when in discussion. A careful analysis shows that they merely stress different phases of the

¹ David Snedden, *The Problem of Vocational Education*, p. 5.

educational process. The two ideas are not contradictory but complementary. That they can be and will be harmonized the author does not doubt. It used to be thought that individual culture demanded freedom from a vocation. Complete leisure and culture appeared much more nearly synonymous than they have proved to be. While leisure is still as valuable a basis for culture as ever, it can now be obtained in addition to success in an occupation.

Moreover, we have begun to realize that culture is inseparable from some sort of useful vocational accomplishment, and to demand of every one some kind of practical labor either in the economic, philanthropic, artistic, or social and moral work of the world. No individual receives more deserved censure than the idler, the spendthrift, and the parasite on the body politic. The leisure class has been valuable, but only in proportion as it used its leisure to accomplish unpaid but ultimately utilitarian work. At present leisure-class vocations are developing almost as rapidly as those of the so-called working-classes, and preparation for them is no less necessary. Schools of philanthropy and of the various fine arts have been developed in every large city, and schools for training in the civil service are much needed. The social settlement, the university settlement, the institutional church, public service commissions, scientific and scholastic societies, women's clubs, all offer leisure-class occupations less directly practical but no less utilitarian, in the larger sense, than the trades and the ordinary professions.

Early education vocational. It must likewise be remembered that organized education originated as a preparation for vocational work. In some form vocational education has always existed. The savage boy followed his father on his hunting and fishing and fighting expeditions, and was taught the skill and technique of the trade. At the same

time the girl received her training in caring for children and aiding the mother in preparing food, tilling the soil, and other feminine work. Later came the development of crafts and the apprenticeship system in training for them. Likewise the earliest organized schools were founded for the purpose of training priests or public servants, and were vocational schools. The idea of liberal education only grew up with the extension of the privileges of the ecclesiastical or military training to others not definitely set apart for those callings. As the existing vocational education extended to these non-professional classes, the curriculum was slowly modified from the rigidly vocational to the liberal-culture idea. But as each profession emerged — law, medicine, theology, arms, teaching, literature, science, engineering, commerce — new vocational schools branched off from the original stem.

As the ordinary business man and worker were admitted to educational privileges, it was to the undifferentiated curriculum of the old ecclesiastical school as it had been modified into a generalized preparation for the professional vocations. What is now demanded is a further modification of this generalized educational program so that it will be an adequate preparation for the trades and ordinary occupations of the masses as well as for the select professions. No one questions that our present public school program overemphasizes the value of the older professions by attempting to give to all the training specially devised to meet professional needs. What vocational-education advocates now demand is that some system be devised whereby those entering trades and newly developed occupations may have a preparation for their work, at public expense, that will be as efficient for their purposes as the present school training is for professional purposes.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. What percentage of the time of the average successful school-teacher is spent in purely vocational work? Analyze your own motives as a student, and try to form a judgment as to the extent to which vocational success has been the motive in your choice of studies and other school activities.
2. At what age do you think the lawyer, the physician, and the minister should be ready for active vocational work? the bank clerk? the carpenter? the factory laborer? the farmer?
3. Why has society assumed the function of training and licensing the lawyer, the physician, and the teacher, and not the farmer or the mechanic?
4. Analyze, in so far as you can, the motives which led the children you have known to quit school before graduation. What might have been done that would have kept them in school longer?
5. Tabulate the great leaders of the nineteenth century in one of the various fields of human endeavor — philosophy, the fine arts, science, invention, business, philanthropy, and statesmanship — and compare them with the great leaders in the same fields of all other centuries.
6. Do the well-to-do people in your community work less hard on the average than the poor people? Do their children?
7. Make a study in your college class of the grades of those who are making a substantial part of their expenses by outside work, and compare them with the grades of those who are not.
8. Is it true that in every age the occupation offering the greatest rewards (not necessarily economic) attracts the largest percentage of able men? Illustrate your opinion.
9. Make a list of the new vocations developed in your home community during the last ten or the last twenty years.
10. Make a class report upon the educational aims of the Tuskegee Institute.
11. Write a report on the industrial training given in the schools of Germany.
12. Investigate the work of the early European universities, and report the extent to which they were purely vocational schools.

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CHAPTER XVI

VOCATIONAL ASPECTS OF A SOCIALIZED EDUCATION

ADAPTATION OF OUR SCHOOLS TO THE NEEDS OF THE MASSES

THAT the more definite socialization of our public schools will mean a great change in our educational organization and practice along vocational lines is not to be questioned, but to suppose that it demands a sudden revolution is fallacious. Few will be found to deny that many changes are needed. The very fact that an institution is a relatively fixed phase of the public mind, formulated by present-day reaction on inherited social materials, requires constant variation if progress is to be maintained. Human society and institutions can no more remain static than can physical forces or material structures. The State, the Church, the family, the business world, and the ordinary ideals of life are undergoing more rapid changes to-day than ever before. It is only natural that the schools should likewise change rapidly.

The hopeful phase of the situation is that a fair consensus of opinion is being reached in regard to the dominant lines along which educational improvement may rightfully be expected. The schools of every age have tried to fit their students to meet the practical demands of the society they must serve. Since our schools have changed their clientèle from the select classes to the whole people, they must adapt their instruction to all classes who are expected to patronize them. The leading changes that superintendents and other educational leaders are attempting to put in force are, therefore, those that will fit these new entrants into our schools

from the ranks of the so-called working-classes, for the practical demands of the everyday life they are about to enter. When we reflect that these new classes form the largest body of our public school pupils we may be assured that many parts of the program of studies and the aims and methods of teaching will be made over for their benefit; and, since the major interests of this new class of pupils will revolve about the means of getting a living, the most important changes will tend toward vocational education.

The essential changes in our present system demanded by vocationalized education may be treated under three heads: (1) the transformation necessary in our elementary grades; (2) the differentiation of courses from the seventh to the twelfth grades; and (3) the introduction of equipment and methods into these courses more nearly approaching the work conditions of the outside world.

1. Changes necessary in the grades

Eliminations and substitutions. The transformation necessary in the grades has two phases. The first of these is a reduction in the amount of the generalized knowledge now taught in a uniform manner and required of all, and the enriching of the school program with new studies. This does not mean any lessening of emphasis to be placed upon the tools of learning—reading, writing, and numbers. Nor does it imply that language, drawing, history, geography, and hygiene will receive less attention. Whatever of cultural value these studies possess as now taught must be preserved. But no one will deny that each of these studies is now burdened with much useless material. They have come down from higher grades, which inherited them in turn from the colleges and universities; hence the average textbook is burdened with abstract details which do not reach the interests of the child, and therefore do little to

educate him. It should not be forgotten also that various investigations have shown that the enriching of the school program by new studies in the past has not decreased the effectiveness of teaching in the fundamentals. Nature study, music, literature and dramatics, folk-dancing and athletics, manual training, and domestic science and art have in no wise undermined or weakened knowledge of the "three R's." They have, however, made school life more wholesome, healthy, stimulating, and attractive. New studies which are being demanded and for which time must be found, consist in enlargements of the scope of some of the above, particularly manual training, domestic economy, and elementary-science studies, and the addition of courses dealing with social observation and analysis, industrial conditions and progress, and vocational requirements and possibilities.

President Charles W. Eliot, in an address before the National Education Association, in 1910, pointed out that additional time for new studies might well be secured by increasing the school time per day and per year.

This would now be possible with due regard for the health and vigor of the children; because many of the new subjects call for bodily exercise, and also because improvements already effected in school grounds and buildings make the hours spent in school quite as healthy as those spent at home, healthier indeed under many urban conditions. An extension of school time from twenty-five hours a week to from thirty-three to forty-four hours a week, according to the age of the pupils, would make great improvements possible. In cities and large towns the summer vacation should be much reduced. This lengthening of the weekly school time has already begun in day schools which make much of manual training and industrial teachings, and the vacation schools, summer camps, and summer sessions are making head against the evils of the long vacation.¹

¹ *Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1910, pp. 133-41.

There can be little question that the vocationalizing of our school work will lengthen school time in hours of each day, days of each year, and in the total number of years, and this without injury to health or to child life as it now exists.

Aims of the elementary school. The other phase of change needed in the elementary grades has to do with the aims and the choice of subject-matter in teaching the different branches. Less emphasis must be placed upon the elementary studies as a preparation for higher work along the same lines. The outlook must be as much toward life outside the schools as toward higher work in the schools. Heretofore our elementary teaching has been dominated by the need of preparing the pupil for the grade or the school above, and subject-matter has been chosen largely for that purpose. This has led to a narrow and warped vision on the part of the teacher, which has frequently resulted in forcing upon the pupil drill which he detested, information that he did not want and would not retain, and a failure to use the vital interests of the child which might have been the basis for securing the intensive application necessary to real education.

The need for a changed point of view can easily be illustrated. Language work was formerly given through technical grammar and the mere mechanics of literature. This was improved by adding actual composition and the study of classical literature. But the aim was still to develop the reader and writer of polite or finished literature. Another reform introduced the study of oral and business English. A longer step remains yet to be taken, however, before language work can be adapted to the needs of all. It must be correlated with other studies in knowledge-getting. The profitable reading of the daily newspaper, which has become the basis of so much of our common feeling and public opinion, requires as much training as the reading of Shakespeare; hence language studies required of all should spend as

much time and effort in preparation for the one as for the other. Likewise conversational English can be improved only by substituting for the stilted language of the schoolroom the spontaneous language of a more real life. A similar revision must be made in physiology and hygiene. Few students will study medicine or need detailed anatomical or physiological knowledge; but each one will have to care for his own health and needs to understand the principles of personal hygiene, home sanitation, and first aid to the injured. Like principles will need to be used in working over civics, history, and drawing, so as to adapt them more perfectly to the needs of everyday life.

2. Needed differentiation of courses

The second essential change demanded by a vocationalized program is that as soon as a reasonable amount of general knowledge needed equally by all is given, the program of studies must differentiate along vocational lines. This differentiation should begin in the sixth or seventh year and broaden out toward the close of the high-school period. Professor E. L. Thorndyke has shown that there is a high degree of correlation between the interests of boys and girls in the upper elementary grades and the interests possessed by them in their later careers in college. His studies indicate, in fact, that what interests the child is a good index of what will be his chief adult ability and the nature of his future vocation. With proper vocational guidance this correlation would be increased.

Motivation. The vital advantage of differentiation of courses, however, lies in the more adequate motive it will provide for school work. It is a universally accepted fact that each school or life task will be more expeditiously performed if the reason for its performance is immediate and plainly visible. In the address previously quoted Dr. Eliot states:—

For children between the ages of twelve and sixteen it is particularly important to provide various forms of training which they can see will be of use to them in after life. The provision of well-graded courses of that nature, with constant concrete illustration of every mental process or problem, will go far to hold the interest of children in their school work, and prevent premature withdrawals, or diminish the number of them.

Again he writes: —

It is for the benefit of the individual to bring into play at the earliest possible moment the motive of a life career, because that is a strong motive and a lasting one.¹

Extent of differentiation. The extent to which this differentiation beyond the sixth grade must go will depend to a large extent upon the community. If the community is small and isolated, with a narrow range of demand for school graduates, or if its resources for varied work are limited, a correspondingly small amount of variation may be expected of

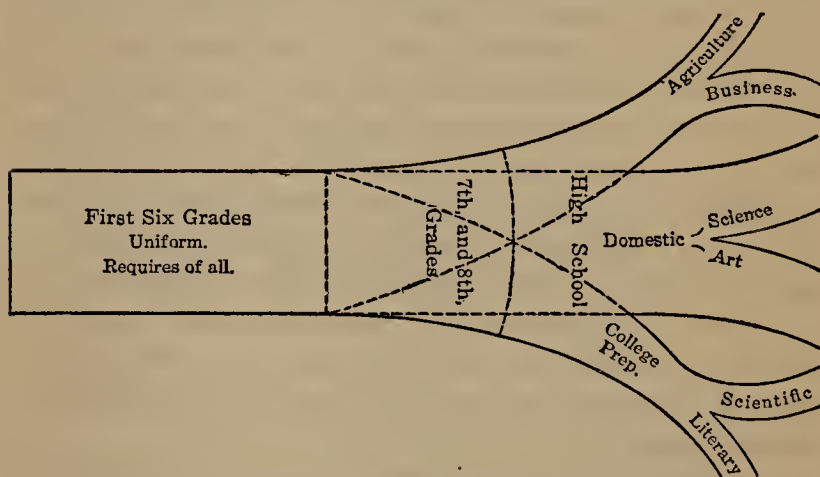


FIG. 4. POSSIBLE DIFFERENTIATION OF STUDIES IN SMALL HIGH SCHOOL

its curriculum. In our consolidated rural schools or small-town high schools the variation of courses offered might be represented in Fig. 4.

¹ *Conflict between Collectivism and Individualism in a Democracy*, p. 45.

In this diagram a major part of the work of the seventh and eighth grades is uniform, and much of that in the ninth and tenth grades. In the eleventh and twelfth grades, where they exist, the work will be divided into three main groups, one of which must be selected, and this will subdivide for certain special studies.

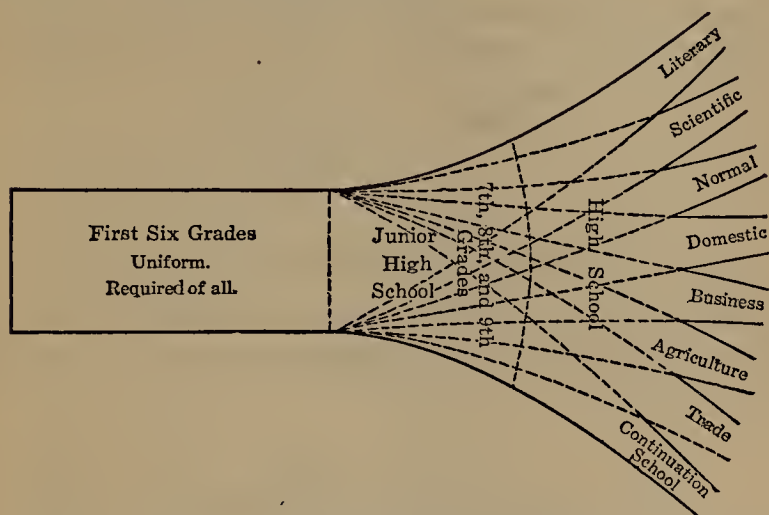


FIG. 5. SHOWING DIFFERENTIATION OF COURSES IN LARGE HIGH SCHOOL

Fig. 5 represents a degree of specialization which may be carried out in cities with one fairly large high school. At the beginning of the seventh grade differentiation begins and gradually increases until, in the third and fourth years of the high school, the students will be pursuing special courses with vocational interests definitely marked. In very large groups, such as that of girls looking forward to home-keeping, there may be further subdivision during the fourth year into the domestic-science and domestic-arts group.

Differentiation in schools. In large cities allied courses may be provided in separate high schools. This is done in Boston, Los Angeles, and a number of other cities. Figs.

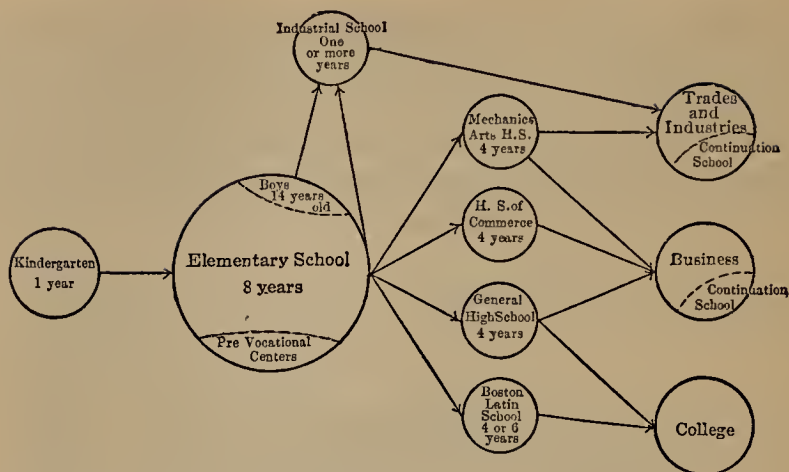


FIG. 6. MAIN SCHOOL ROADS A BOY MAY TRAVEL IN BOSTON

6 and 7, taken from the *Report of the Schools of the City of Boston*, shows the degree of grouping provided for the two sexes by this city.

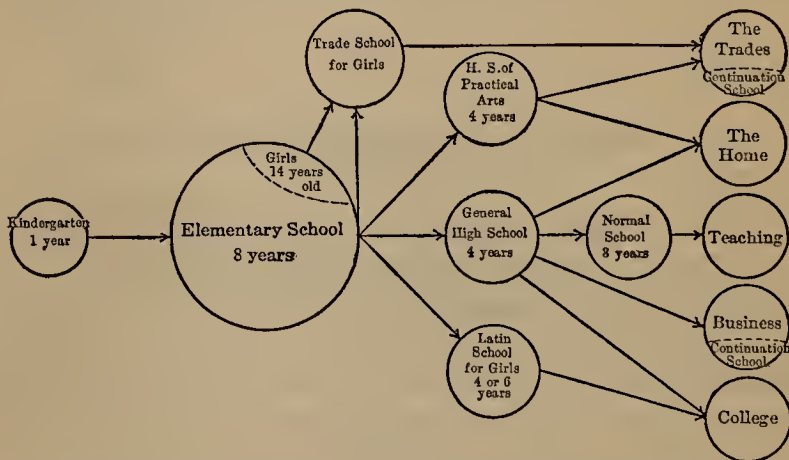


FIG. 7. MAIN SCHOOL ROADS A GIRL MAY TRAVEL IN BOSTON

These main roads, it is explained, are not the only ones a boy and girl may travel during his school course.

There are also other and shorter roads by which pupils may go from a school of one grade or type to a school of a different or a

higher rank, as their abilities and desires may warrant. There are still other roads by which graduates of these schools may go in different directions from those indicated above.

While this differentiation of courses is coming about in all of our schools, it should not be undertaken with too great haste. Evolution, where practicable, is always better than revolution. In the transition from a program dominated by the liberal-culture idea to one in which the vocational aim is uppermost, mistakes will be inevitable. Since uniformity under our varying conditions would defeat the end in view, much experimenting, much surveying of local needs and possibilities, and much scientific testing of results will be necessary. But the day of scientific analysis, observation, experiment, and testing for results in the social and institutional world is upon us, and the schools should not lag behind. They should rather, by further development and use of the educational expert, lead the way to all-around institutional progress.

3. Changes in equipment and methods required

An approximation to working conditions. The third essential change demanded by a vocationalized program is the introduction into the specialized courses of equipment and methods which will enable the schools more nearly to approximate the work conditions of the outside world. This can be done only with added expense in facilities and men. The machinery, apparatus, illustrative materials, and adequately trained teachers required for commercial, agricultural, industrial, and home economics work will be more expensive than those for the regulation scholastic studies. Consequently additional revenues must be obtained for school purposes. But these will be forthcoming. Every increased educational privilege offered to the public has cost money. The daily and annual cost per individual has

increased regularly as the public has taken over the function of education and provided better educational facilities for all classes. Every decade finds us spending more money per pupil, in addition to the increased cost for an ever-increasing number of pupils. Indeed, just as the cost of production of any economic commodity may be used as a rough test of its value, so the *per capita* cost of school work may be used as a preliminary test of its efficiency. Moreover, as education is extended, its economic value becomes more generally known. Generally speaking, the more a community spends on education the more it desires to spend. It is easier to raise by increased taxes the five dollars *per capita* spent on education to-day than it was to raise the small amount collected half or even a quarter of a century ago. More complaint against school taxes is found in the rural districts where they are low, than in cities where they are high. The higher the general standard of education is raised the more will its economic and civilizing worth be appreciated, and this will prove particularly true as the kind of education given is more perfectly adapted to produce efficient workers and to elevate more directly the plane of human living.

Demand for training in the trades. A more difficult problem, however, lies in devising just the sort of work under school conditions that will best fit the boy or girl for efficient labor under shop conditions. We have succeeded so well, after a few generations of study and experiment, in constructing courses of training that will fit physicians, lawyers, clergymen, engineers, farmers, and teachers for their later work that society has committed practically all of their systematic vocational training to the schools. After only a short period of experiment we have been able to devise practical courses for many commercial callings, and for such trades as plumbing, bricklaying, printing, cabinet-making, and machine-shop and electrical work. It would not, there-

fore, seem impossible, on the basis of past progress and present insight, to plan school work for other lines of skilled labor, as the conditions of work for those trades become more specific and definite. Certain it is that progress along this line will be demanded, and we may confidently expect that teaching ingenuity will go far toward meeting the demand.

Coöperation of the school and the business world. One of the basic principles of further progress in vocational education is in the coöperation of the schools and the commercial and industrial world. Professional education has succeeded because it has responded readily to the demands of the professions outside of the schools. As a matter of fact, this education has been planned and executed largely by men with outside professional experience. The academic atmosphere has had to be transformed into something of a professional atmosphere. A similar change must be foundational in efficient commercial and industrial education. Something of the shop atmosphere and business environment must be developed. Teachers must be secured who have had practical experience in business and in the trades. Courses they can introduce and conduct will rapidly bring about the coöperation of business firms, industrial corporations, and the labor unions, just as improved professional training brought about the full coöperation of the professions. Nearly complete industrial coöperation has already been secured in parts of Germany, England, France, and Switzerland, and in certain cities of the United States as well. The Cincinnati plan of part-time work in the shop or counting-house and part-time in the schools is well known. Gary, Indiana, Fitchburg, Massachusetts, and other cities are working along somewhat similar lines. The continuation school, the night school, and many technical, industrial, and commercial schools are built upon this coöperative

foundation. It does not seem to be a wild prediction to say that similar efforts to join the school courses directly to the working vocations of life will be universal in a short time. In fact, if the present trend of educational evolution continues, it is a logical certainty.

Objections to a vocationalized program. That there are certain more or less valid objections to a vocationalized program is not to be denied. Probably the most legitimate one is that children in the elementary school are too young to make a final choice of a life-work, and to base their education upon that choice. It is true that they have little conscious knowledge of themselves and little experience with the world, and that the highest talent of the individual may appear later in life. But this merely proves that they need all the guidance they can get in the selection of courses, and that vocational choices should be made as scientific as possible.

Another objection is that early specialization will prevent breadth of training and cause a narrowness of outlook, if a wise choice were made, and that it would lead to inefficiency and discouragement if a mistake were made. This same objection was advanced with regard to elective studies in our colleges and high schools. In some schools this freedom of election was carried too far, as is shown by a reaction from it in universities such as Harvard, Chicago, and Michigan, and in many of the smaller colleges. But the principle has come to stay, as indicated by the modified elective systems now in force after the reaction, and its universal extension into our high schools and the advanced elementary grades. As vocational specialization is permitted, great caution will need to be exercised. It must not only be introduced gradually, but must be carefully grafted onto the program of studies now in existence. Moreover, an early choice should not be considered final any more than an adult vocation

should be expected to be irrevocable. Good mental, moral, and manual training directed toward any occupation, however, is less wasteful than an aimless and too-frequently uninterested moiling over a general course that, as the pupil sees it, leads nowhere. Better a few mistakes, which our mobile economic life will tend to rectify, than the present general lack of driving power, in our public school work.

Variability of vocational ambition. Another objection frequently raised is that many of our boys pass through a kaleidoscopic desire to follow a variety of callings — to be a soldier, a blacksmith, a locomotive engineer, a dry-goods clerk, a minister, and a traveling salesman. This same boy may end by being a vocational roustabout or a brilliant lawyer or a bank president. It must be remembered, however, that this very changeability is the result of ambition, coupled with a lack of variety of experience and knowledge which offers the vocational counselor and guide his greatest opportunity. The literature he could supply and the special knowledge and experience of the world at his command would eliminate many of these fleeting desires, and focalize the pupil's ideas and efforts in certain major directions. This elimination process is at present a wasteful and a painful one, as the author and many another, whose youth was unguided, can testify. To fix one's purposes fairly near the right goal at an early age, and provide a course leading in that direction, is to furnish inspiration and ambition and motive power to one's work and, perchance, to save years of comparatively wasted effort.

The materialistic motive. A fourth objection to an early choice of a vocation and the vocationalized program is the altruistic prejudice against the use of the materialistic motive in education. The "bread-and-butter" motive is held to be too low for an idealistic educational system. But a public institution must deal with the public as it is, rather

than with what some dreamer would like it to be. Sane discipline and true moral idealism appeal to the highest motive in the individual to which he will effectively respond. If strenuous effort is to be obtained, a vital motive must be aroused. Only a little self-analysis is necessary to convince the average person that his most sacrificial work is in the line of his vocation. President Charles W. Eliot has truly said: —

All of us adults do our best work in the world under the impulsion of a life-career motive. Indeed, the hope and purpose of improving quality, or quantity, or both in our daily work, with the incidental improvement of the livelihood, form the strongest inducements we adults have for steady, productive labor, and the results of labor so motivated are not necessarily mercenary, or in any way unworthy of an intelligent or humane person. There is nothing low or mean about these motives, and they lead on the people who are swayed by them to greater serviceableness and greater happiness.¹

If the adult's best effort and service come through his vocation, why may we not expect the best development of the boy or girl to come through preparation for that vocation?

Occupational culture. The final objection to vocational education is that of the "culturist," who fears that the inrush of the practical and the vocational into our public schools is going to force out the æsthetic and the morally cultural. But a sane consideration of the issue will dissipate that fear. True culture comes only from contact with cultural things, the higher realities and ideals of life. A mere reading knowledge of classic languages or literature, or an initial acquaintance with the arts, cannot produce real culture. Neither can a mere fact-knowledge of the sciences, or of religious and political institutions, or of the principles of social causation, bring one into vital relations with "the

¹ *Report of National Education Association, 1910, p. 135.*

inheritance of the race." It takes action and experience and emotional realization of the better things of life to develop reverence, sympathy, industry, and the ideals of fair play, service, and loyalty. These are largely inseparable from living in the real world in which one is placed; and since one's vocation assumes such a large place in his environment and social contacts, it forms one of the best bases of culture. The individual who can put into his work his idealisms and his artistic and moral aspirations has the best possible foundation for true culture.

This transforming attitude toward everyday life is the only sure basis on which democratic culture can be grounded and fullness of preparation to do effective vocational work, instead of threatening the destruction of the culture idea in our schools, is the only visible hope of universalizing it. How amazingly true this appears when we remember that more than three fourths of our children never finish the elementary grades, and have no opportunity to get even a glimpse of the so-called higher culture under present conditions! Under a vocationalized culture none of the pupils desiring the high-school and college work of the present would be denied it, and many now losing advanced schooling of any kind would be induced to accept whatever of culture vocational training has to offer. As previously shown, spiritual culture is largely dependent upon the opportunities provided by economic well-being, and the sooner one can be guided into occupational efficiency the more sure the foundation for whatever of altruistic growth we may expect of our present human nature and capacity.

Types of vocational training needed. A summary of the vocational education demanded at present shows the need of three types of training. The first is *general* vocational training required of all, and intended to lay a broad foundation of general occupational information and understanding

of vocational demands. Means of giving this training need further elaboration than the present schools can show. Second comes *specialized* vocational training, given to elective groups along the broad lines of the leading occupations of the local community, or other communities where students are most likely to migrate. The third type is the *technical*, intended to give to the student the understanding, the skill, and the habit reactions necessary to enter some special calling with ease, and with a training basis for permanent success in it.

The first two of these types of vocational work may be done in all schools; but the rate of occupational change in our country is so great that the amount of time and effort to be devoted to the third phase, the technical, must for some time to come be limited. Probably the safest method of approach to it in many communities will be through the continuation school, where the actual work is mainly done in the factory or business house, and the formal school work is made supplementary to that work. For instance, the individual engaged in commercial work might take further instruction in industrial history, labor or transportation problems, finance, business law, and more technical studies along the line of his special occupation. Industrial workers could pursue special courses in physics and chemistry, mechanical drawing, manual training, industrial organization, and selected courses adapted to increase breadth of appreciation and understanding of the whole industry in which he is engaged. Also he should be given all available training to broaden his possibilities of greater skill in a number of related fields of work. This would provide some insurance against a machine undermining his particular detailed occupation and leaving him a completely unskilled workman in any other field. Possibilities are numerous, actualities all too few up to the present; but, when we shall have worked

over vocational education for the masses as long as we have labored on professional and leisure-time education for the cultivated classes, we can be assured that an efficient and workable system will be evolved. We also can be just as sure that if we lag behind other nations in training the rank and file of our laborers as effectively as those progressive nations are doing it, America will suffer in the industrial struggle of the future.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. Show how the schools of the Middle Ages, with their emphasis upon abstract materials, were trying to fit their pupils for society.
2. What proof is there that our pupils can write and spell and cipher as well as their ancestors could when they did little else in school?
3. Why is the present school day shorter than the work day? Do you think this will continue?
4. How would you teach children to read the newspaper intelligently?
5. What are some of the methods used in the teaching of oral English?
6. What elements entered into the making of the high-school course which you took? Outline changes you would desire to make.
7. Explain specifically why the teaching of a new subject, such as domestic science, is more difficult than an old study, such as Latin.
8. Investigate and report the methods of coöperation between the schools and business and industry used in Cincinnati.
9. Analyze the continuation work in some specific city where it is well organized.
10. Explain the psychological fallacy of the doctrine of formal discipline in its general sense.
11. Do you think a course explaining the nature and requirements of the general classes of occupations should be required of all students in the junior high school?
12. To what extent do you think the junior colleges now being added to many of our city high schools should be vocational?

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CHAPTER XVII

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AS A SOCIALIZED SCHOOL FUNCTION

Vocational guidance necessary to vocational education. The educational world has been quite effectively awakened to the need of vocational education for industrial as well as for professional occupations. Much is being done to organize and make practical the training in agricultural, trade, commercial, and mechanical work, and much more is being planned; yet every one recognizes that merely providing vocational education is not enough. Vocational guidance must accompany it as an inevitable corollary. If we had the most perfect system imaginable for training youth to productive work, much of this training would be useless without a similarly well-developed system of guiding youth in its choice of occupation. Vocational education must be specialized education, and if the youth chooses wrongly it will lead not merely to educational waste, but generally to individual disappointment. It necessarily follows, then, that when our school programs are more fully and more consciously vocationalized, every precaution must be taken to prevent mistakes, and every available means must be used to guarantee a wise choice of occupation and the course of training most needful in preparing for it.

Vocational maladjustment. The need for better vocational adjustment is a matter of common observation. All about us in every line of work are occupational misfits — professional men who should have been farmers; business men who should have been mechanics; day laborers who might have been useful engineers, inventors, or artists; and

vagabonds who might have been productive workers if they had had the right start in the industrial world. Perfect adjustment of workmen and work is not to be expected in an imperfect society, but much of the enormous waste of the present might be saved by a more scientific treatment of the problem. Who does not know of individuals of energy, character, and reasonable talent struggling along, barely escaping failure in occupations for which they are not fitted, when judicious guidance during youth might have enabled them to get started along a pathway leading to abundant usefulness and success? Most of us also know men who have blindly tried various occupations only to fail, and who then, by a happier chance, have "found themselves" and succeeded. Scientific management is now being applied in the industrial world to eliminate waste in handling machinery, materials, and processes. Even in the selection and management of the human agencies, or the labor supply, there is a decided effort to develop system and accuracy. The industrial world has shown by its development of expensive apprentice schools, and its willingness to employ well-trained young women and men wherever found, that it is ready to coöperate with other agencies in conserving human efficiency. It remains for the public, particularly through its school system, to join hands with industry in this policy of conservation by seeing that each youth, in so far as possible, chooses an occupation deliberately rather than by chance, and begins his life-work with the right attitude and the necessary training.

Specific studies showing the need of guidance. This occupational maladjustment is not a matter of mere theory or of common observation. Several specific studies have shown its gravity. In 1910 a Royal Commission made a study of unemployment in England. The Commission found that a large share of the unemployment was due to a lack of guid-

ance and direction of boys at the critical period when they left school to enter industry. "It is, unfortunately, only too clear that the mass of unemployment is continually being recruited by a stream of young men from industries which rely upon unskilled boy labor and turn it adrift at manhood without any general or special industrial qualification." The bait of high initial wages in such employment as that of messenger boys and others requiring brightness and adaptability, without providing any training for a future occupation, leads to what the Commission aptly termed "unemployables." Similar investigations in Massachusetts, Chicago, and elsewhere confirm the findings of the English reports. These "blind-alley" and "dead-end" occupations exist in every community, and will continue to exist until some public institution takes hold of the matter and requires some sort of continuation work that will open the way for new employment when the old type ceases. It is one of the problems that our schools must attack more definitely in the near future if they are to continue their efficiency under our rapidly expanding industrial demands.

Another study which revealed early occupational maladjustment was made by Dr. Norman Triplett, of the Kansas State Normal, through a questionnaire sent to the leading business men of Emporia, Kansas. Of sixty-nine men who replied definitely, only eighteen were following the occupation they entered in youth. The average number of different occupations that had been followed by the sixty-nine men was three and two tenths each. One successful man had followed eight different occupations by the time he reached middle life. Only two of the sixty-nine men remembered that they had received advice from any of their teachers that had affected their choice of vocation.

These facts scarcely call for comment. If the successful men had floundered over the economic field to such an

extent, what may be expected of the unsuccessful ones? Two deductions would be safe from such an investigation in any American city: that American youth are not, in general, trained definitely for any occupation, and that they are not intelligently guided into a suitable occupation.

A study of high-school boys. Another study which may be cited, and which reveals the need of vocational guidance, was made by Principal Jesse B. Davis, of the Grand Rapids, Michigan, High School. It consisted of a careful study of the vocational status of the high-school boys under his charge. Of the 531 boys, 291 — more than half — had not decided upon a vocation. Of the 240 who had made a tentative choice, 123 — again more than half — confessed that they had no real knowledge of the occupation to which they looked forward. Only 19, or about 8 per cent, expected to follow the occupation of their fathers, which meant that 92 per cent would lose the opportunity for a favorable start which the father could provide. Of the 240 boys who had chosen a life-work, 70, or nearly 30 per cent, expected to be engineers, a vocation now overcrowded and calling for only a fraction of one per cent of our high-school graduates. Among the total 531 boys, only 117, or about one fifth, showed evidence of a choice based upon any intelligent study or knowledge of the vocational fields. Finally, but 150 were shaping their school-work with any reference to the life-work they had selected.

Such an array of facts may not be altogether typical, but it is illuminating. Whether or not so large a percentage of our high-school students everywhere are drifting through school without any plans for the future and without the stimulus of a vocational motive, it is certainly true that too many drift aimlessly out of our schools into the industrial world, ignorant of its demands and of their own qualifications to grasp its opportunities. The result to industry is an enormous loss

in weeding out the unfit — not necessarily the incapable and unwilling, but those who recklessly undertake work for which they are unadapted. Some of the highest paid business experts are now giving their full time to the selection, from large lists of capable applicants, of those who are best adapted to the specific work they are called upon to do. The result to individuals is even more lamentable. Most of the boys and young men leaving our schools take the first promising position open to them, regardless of their fitness for it, and get properly located mainly by chance. Some succeed in choosing well, some succeed by perseverance in unhappy labors, others shift about until located properly, and still others have their economic backbones broken and become occupational hoboes.

Vocational guidance in our schools. That vocational guidance in our schools would remedy all of the evils of personal maladjustment in economic life is not contended. But that something might be accomplished is equally evident. No scientific analysis can reveal all of the possibilities of a human being, more especially if that being is young and only partially developed. No more can human ingenuity avoid mistakes; but careful study and forethought may reduce the number of errors in occupational choices and the prevention of a small percentage of the failures resulting from our present hands-off policy will mean a large addition to present human efficiency. That boys and girls are willing, even anxious, for such guidance is everywhere evident. If a youth has any serious side to his nature — and they all have at times — it is pretty sure to be along the line of his vocational ambition. Of the 291 boys in the Grand Rapids High School who had made no occupational choice, 194 had tried to do so and 235 expressed a desire for advice on the subject. Many vocational counselors are overwhelmed with requests for consultation. In fact, the most difficult phase of the sit-

uation to face is neither the lack of need nor of desire for guidance, but the inability to provide either the quality or the quantity of guidance demanded.

Unconscious guidance. Before taking up the specific discussion of vocational guidance in our schools, we should be reminded that they are already carrying on unconscious guidance. On this point Professor George H. Mead has the following to say: —

The school more or less unwittingly has been itself a vocational guide, has been determining what occupations many of the children who leave school shall enter, and this unwitting guidance and direction, just because it has been largely unintentional, has been in no small degree unfortunate for the children. In so far as the school has fitted its pupils to enter one occupation rather than another, just so far it is guiding them to this vocation.

The school has uncritically accepted the general attitude of the community that each child should take advantage of the unequalled opportunities that America has offered for getting up in the world: and the uncritical assumption back of this attitude has been that the upward path lay away from labor with the hands and led toward labor with the wits. . . . Success has generally meant achievement in business, in politics, or in one of the professions. . . .

While the curricula of both the elementary and the secondary schools have been immensely enriched . . . the trend of the training has continued to be toward business, politics, or further preparation for college or professional study. It has followed very naturally from this that the children find themselves directed toward office work, and that when training is offered in mechanical arts side by side with the technique of office work the training for the white-collar jobs is the more attractive. The schools growing up in the traditions of the American community have been guiding the children toward a certain type of vocation.¹

Occupations of college graduates. This unconscious guidance is not only true, but it is injurious to our youth by giving them a false economic perspective. It has been only

¹ G. H. Mead, "The Larger Educational Bearings of Vocational Guidance"; in Bulletin No. 14, 1914, pp. 20, 21, U.S. Bureau of Education.

a few years since the member of a college graduating class who became a farmer or entered industry was felt to be lowering the class standards. Often the same thing was felt when a boy graduated from high school and entered a trade. The whole school tradition is against the dignity of manual labor. Likewise historical, social, and class feeling discriminate against the tradesman and the industrialist. Fortunately traditions are changing somewhat as the greater pay required to get the same ability in industry is tending to elevate manual callings in public esteem. The occupations of college graduates, as shown in the subjoined table, taken from a report by the United States Bureau of Education, will show the trend toward business. The recent development of technical schools has increased this tendency, and added industrial callings to the list. Only when vocational education and guidance gets a better hold on our public school system, and means of training are devised whereby an attractive course may be chosen in the industrial arts, can a proper balance be established.

Occupations of college graduates

	1696-1700	1796-1800	1896-1900
Ministry	65.6	21.4	5.9
Law	1.6	30.5	15.6
Medicine	3.1	8.4	6.6
Education	4.7	5.7	26.7
Business	1.6	5.6	18.8
Public service	9.4	1.1	1.6

Vocational choice adds definiteness to school interest. In addition to the increased industrial output coming from the better adjustment of man and job that may be expected to result from intelligent vocational guidance in our schools, there are several specific values that should accrue. The first

of these specific gains will follow from decreased school mortality. As shown in a previous chapter, our boys and girls drop out of school chiefly from lack of interest. No more potent source of interest in school work has been found than the vocational motive. If a wise vocational choice can be made early in a student's school career, there can be little doubt that it will go a long way toward holding the boy or girl in school until fairly adequate preparation is made for success in the chosen calling. It will provide the definiteness of purpose so frequently lacking in public school work. It will provide a much more specific goal toward which the student aims than mere graduation. Great accomplishment in life is inseparable from idealistic vision and perfected plan. The artist must see the completed picture as he works, the mechanic the working machine, and the builder the finished structure if he is to do his work with proper interest and effectiveness. A similar vision of the future career and a comparative fixity of purpose are necessary to enable the student to plan satisfactorily his course, and to maintain his interest and effort through the apparently long years of preparation the economic world demands of him.

Early vocational choice aids continuation work. A second specific advantage of vocational direction lies in its possible alliance with continuation work. For economic reasons many boys and girls are compelled to leave school at the age of fourteen or fifteen. Others leave before completing the high school on account of opportunities that might not later occur. Under these circumstances, if the vocation be already chosen, it will be much easier to retain the youth in specialized continuation work. In fact the continuation school has been organized mainly for these classes, and its success depends, to a large extent, upon the possibility of preventing the youth from breaking his connection with the schools when he goes to work. Compulsory continuation

work is some time off in the United States. Voluntary continuation study depends upon the persuasive power of the schools and the coöperation of employers. Wherever the school work has been shown to be effective it has been found that self-interest will lead the employer to coöperate by releasing the worker for a certain number of hours per week. This is universally true where the type of employment calls for increasing efficiency; and, if the work does not require development of the worker, it is of the "dead-end" type and the employer may well be required by law to coöperate. Probably no other movement in our educational history promises so much in the way of forcing harmonious working relations between our schools and the industrial world as that for vocational guidance through continuation and part-time schools.

Moral value of vocational guidance. A third and much more vital advantage of vocational direction is its aid in moral education. So intimate are vocation and morals that Principal Davis couples them together in his highly suggestive volume, *Vocational and Moral Guidance*. Concerning this relationship he says: —

Yet, upon thought, all will grant that vocational guidance is in itself moral, and that moral guidance without application to life's purpose is of little value — the two are inseparable. Moreover, to young people of this generation, the strongest plea for morality is in its close connection with their own possible chances for success in life.¹

An analysis of the evolution of morals will show this to be true, not merely of the present generation, but of other generations in every stage of culture.

Training course should test wisdom of the vocational choice. The initial moral value of an early vocational choice comes from the added joy of knowing what one is

¹ Jesse B. Davis, *Vocational and Moral Guidance*, p. 17.

working for, of choosing purposive studies leading in a chosen direction, and a consciousness of doing what one can do best. This implies a wise choice, based upon natural aptitudes and seriousness of purpose; but we have a right to assume that sensible guidance based upon scientific study will increase the percentage of these wise choices. Moreover, each study tends to emphasize certain moral attitudes or habits of mind. Each occupation likewise calls for particular moral qualities or characteristics which are best developed by the studies and activities naturally prescribed in preparation for it. If the occupation calls for unusual speed or accuracy in accounting, or great patience and perseverance in mastering detail, or occasional special efforts of courage, ingenuity, and resourcefulness, or personal adaptability and suavity of manner, or heroic physical endurance, — whatever the salient characteristic demanded in the occupation, — the same characteristics must be found and exercised in the school preparation for that occupation. If a youth cannot enjoy and succeed in the work in preparation for a vocation, either the course is poorly chosen or later he will fail in the real work of that vocation.

Development of vocational ethics. Another moral value grows out of the development of the class ethics demanded in the occupation selected. If there be honor among thieves, there certainly might be expected to be a particular code among occupational associates. This is everywhere found to be the case. There is a code of professional ethics among clergymen, physicians, lawyers, a code of business ethics dominating commercial centers, trade ethics among artisans, and even ordinary laborers are working toward a definite conscious ethical code through the labor unions. Class ethics are not only necessary for harmonious class relations, but such also furnish the best approach to general ethics. They have become particularly necessary in our

highly organized industrial age where the old personal relationships have given way to efficiency tests. The relations between employer and employee, between merchant and customer, between manufacturer and consumer, have become so remote and impersonal that much of the basis of former right conduct has been destroyed. Manufacturers produce for the market, not for their neighbors, and consequently specialized ethics are required to prevent the adulterations of food or the false branding of a shoddy product to be consumed in a distant State. Our greatest sins, as Professor Edward A. Ross has strikingly shown in his *Sin and Society*, are no longer treason, piracy, and murder, but the more subtle sins growing out of the abuse of our high public and occupational privileges and out of our mutual economic dependence. Since business relationships are becoming increasingly impersonal, the continuance of high moral attitudes depends upon class morals being maintained and elevated.

Ethical mission of the vocational training. It is a recognized psychological fact that new persons entering an established business or promoters creating a new business are likely to be dominated by lower motives than settled workers in stable occupations. It takes time for men to adjust their consciences to new situations, and to adapt their morals to new demands. Financial buccaneers are more prevalent in new fields, tax-dodgers in a new kind of tax, and professional quacks in newly developed professions. Ordinary rectitude begins to control a particular line of profitable work only when the larger percentage of people in that occupational group have consciously trained themselves for assuming its responsibilities. So we may be assured that the morals of any particular vocation will be elevated by training people for that occupation under the most favorable circumstances.

It will scarcely be questioned that professional ethics along every line have been elevated by the assumption of professional education by our schools. Trade ethics may likewise be elevated by educational association, and are, in fact, being elevated by our newly established industrial schools. Conversely, the morals of students may be specifically reinforced by the ethics of their chosen occupation. If one is to be a physician his association with established physicians tends to fix upon him the morals of a settled profession even before he obtains his license to practice. The old apprenticeship system gave time for such moral drill through seven years of association between master and apprentice, but the short novitiate in most up-to-date vocations forbids this. Consequently the vocational school has a real moral mission in laying the foundations of class ethics. Its success, however, will depend to a large extent upon the wisdom of the vocational choice. And this in turn must rest more and more with the vocational counselor as his mission is developed and his knowledge and resources are increased.

Beginnings of vocational guidance in the schools. The practical work of vocational guidance is still in its infancy. It began in Boston less than a decade ago with the formation of the Vocation Bureau by Professor Frank Parsons. Professor Parsons was connected with the North End Settlement, and had many requests for vocational advice. He organized the Bureau to facilitate this work, and collected a mass of information which formed the basis of his valuable book on *Choosing a Vocation*. Soon the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Commercial Club, and the public schools were enlisted in the service. In 1909 the Boston School Committee and the School Vocation Committee took up the work for the public schools. The following year, under the inspiration of Mr. Meyer Bloomfield, the Chamber of Com-

merce called a conference on vocational guidance. This was attended by people interested in the problem from all parts of the country. In the mean time, under the leadership of Mr. Eli W. Weaver, of the Brooklyn High School, the Students' Aid Committee was started by the High School Teachers' Association and took up similar work. The idea spread rapidly, and the Grand Rapids schools, the Cincinnati schools, the Foxborough, Massachusetts, Library Association, and other public and philanthropic organizations began systematic efforts at vocational guidance. In 1912 a conference of leaders was held in New York, and in 1913 another in Grand Rapids, Michigan, at which the National Vocational Guidance Association was formed. This meeting and that of the following year were held in connection with the meeting of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. Its purpose is to promote an interest in vocational guidance by study and conference, by the spread of literature, and in whatever other ways seem feasible, and to aid and encourage practical work through philanthropic societies and the public schools.

Vocational guidance a school function. While vocational guidance has in a way always existed, the idea of working out principles and carrying them into effect through the scientific efforts of social organizations is new. Consequently it is following the course of evolution required of most new educational movements — that of philanthropic support until people can be educated up to the point of making it a public concern. It is manifestly a matter that should arouse the vital interest of parent, teacher, youth, and the industrial world. It thus becomes a question of such general importance that private agencies, such as the home and philanthropic societies, cannot be trusted to handle it alone. The multiplicity of occupations with their varied requirements, and the complexity of industrial condi-

tions and demands, alike make it impossible for the feeble vision of youth or the untrained parent to choose wisely. No other public agency is as well fitted to handle the situation as are the schools, and by the usual process of elimination it is certain to be fastened upon them. But, like other burdens thrust upon the educational system, it will shortly appear as a privilege and we shall wonder why such an opportunity of service was so long overlooked.

Methods of vocational guidance. The method of approach to the question of guidance adopted by Professor Parsons and the Boston Vocation Bureau was threefold: (1) a survey of the industrial field, especially the local field, to discover its demands and its opportunities; (2) a study of the vocational aptitudes of the boys and girls who were soon to begin work; (3) an attempt to guide the youth in his choice of studies in preparation for his future career. A fourth feature is prominent in the New York plan, that of aiding the youth to secure the right kind of employment. These four aims constitute the central features of vocational guidance. Many schools throughout our country are carrying on some one or more of these lines of activity, but they all need to be developed, systematized, and correlated, and means of securing the coöperation of all the social groups interested in each of these phases of guidance must be discovered and utilized.

The industrial survey. The survey of the industrial field requires a study of the leading industrial trades and professions of the community to learn the number and nature of the various kinds of positions open to young workers, the qualifications demanded, the initial wages paid, the chances of promotion offered, and the possibilities of development of additional skill and culture while at work. This fund of information should be digested by the vocational counselor and be accessible to the public. Such knowledge formed the basis of Professor Parsons's work. This has been enlarged

by Mr. Meyer Bloomfield, who has been continued in charge of the Boston Vocation Bureau. A similar plan has been carried out in Edinburgh, Scotland, through the Educational Information and Employment Bureau. This Bureau was established by the Edinburgh School Board in 1908. It is in charge of an expert director, aided by an advisory council consisting of two delegates each from the Chamber of Commerce, the Building Trades Association, the Master Printers, the National Union of Women Workers, and the unions of engineers, bakers, bookbinders, cabinet-makers, joiners, and masons, together with prominent employers of labor and educators. The knowledge gained in this industrial study must be spread through the teaching body and the community by lectures, pamphlets, reports, school compositions, and in any other way found to be feasible.

Study of the vocational aptitudes of pupils. The second phase of practical guidance, the study of the vocational aptitudes of boys and girls still in school, is more intangible. It can be done scientifically only by the coöperation of teachers, parents, and a vocational expert. The tastes and ambitions of children, as of older people, are ephemeral. Their range of experience is narrow. Their ideals are gained largely through imitation and personal contact. Some studies may have been made particularly attractive through good teaching and certain occupations through propinquity. Parents, relatives, friends, or heroes may have warped the natural aptitudes and preferences of the pupil. All of these factors must be taken into account by advisers. Elaborate and highly suggestive study blanks have been worked out by Professor Parsons, Mr. Meyer Bloomfield, Principal Jesse B. Davis, and others for use in their work. These blanks are of three kinds: (1) questionnaires to parents regarding the home habits, tastes, employments, etc., of the boy or girl, and the opinions and desires of the parents with

reference to their future occupation; (2) questionnaires to pupils with regard to their likes and dislikes, their plans and their ambitions; and (3) similar questionnaires to teachers bringing out the pupils' habits, character, and school record. These studies must be supplemented by personal interviews between the adviser and the pupil and also, in so far as possible, between the adviser and the parents and teachers. Wherever the work has been systematically undertaken a card record has been kept from year to year after the sixth or seventh grade, or the earliest year in which the investigation started. Changes from year to year must be noted, and their significance taken into account.¹

Advising the student in choice of studies. The third phase of guidance consists in advising the youth in his choice of studies in preparation for his future career. An early illustration of the use of this advice was shown when the applications for admission to the Boston High School of Commerce grew too numerous, and the selection of those to be favored was turned over to vocational counselors. The necessity of choosing some particular course of study really inheres in the idea of vocational education; for if the curriculum be differentiated into specialized courses, looking forward to groups of occupations, the only aid needed from the vocational counselor, aside from his aid in constructing these programs of study, is the advice regarding particular studies needed in preparation for a specialized vocation within the group. This may well be done by teachers under the expert's direction. But while it is a function that may be delegated, it is of no little importance in securing definiteness of aim and continuity of school attendance on the part of pupils.

¹ Specimens of blanks used in these studies may be found in Meyer Bloomfield's *Vocational Guidance*, p. 42; and in Jesse B. Davis's *Vocational and Moral Guidance*, p. 143.

School employment bureaus. The final phase of vocational guidance is that of aiding the youth to secure the right kind of employment, and in follow-up work to secure his advancement. Regarding this phase of the work Principal Davis says:—

Our responsibility for the welfare of our pupils does not cease when they drop out of school, or even when they have been graduated. We are under obligation to see that they start out upon the right path, as far as we are able to discern it, when they leave the schoolhouse door. The shipping department of a great factory is not the least important of the departments. Our schools have often been called factories with more or less aptness, and we have been running for a long time with a very incomplete shipping department. Our aim has been to ship all of our product to the colleges. We have sifted out about ninety per cent as culls, thrown them upon the waste heap, and packed the chosen ten per cent in *de luxe* wrappers of sheepskin and labeled them "for college recommendation." The ninety per cent now demands attention. The waste product must be turned into profit. The demands of the industrial and commercial markets must be studied; our experts must show us the best use of this redeemed product, and aid us in placing it upon the market, to the greatest advantage of all concerned. This is the application of the principle of business efficiency to the public school system.¹

One of the most specifically helpful things a school system can do is to establish and run an employment bureau. It will give teachers and school officers a check upon the economic and moral value of their work. The knowledge of the industrial and commercial world required for proper placement of students, and the reactions from the follow-up work necessary to run a sane employment bureau, will give the teacher both a wider knowledge of the practical world and a better idea of the knowledge and training a large portion of public school children most need. It will also give them a better leverage to use upon parents and pupil to keep

¹ Jesse B. Davis, *Vocational and Moral Guidance*, pp. 24-25.

the youth in school until he is fitted for some useful employment. Likewise it will give parents and pupils and the industrial world a more wholesome respect for the work of the schools, and cultivate the intimacy of relationship and coöperation between the schools and the various agencies of life that are directly interested in public school children. Blanks have been prepared, and wider use of placement methods will improve the type, by which the teacher can record his or her opinion of the character and abilities of the pupil and also his qualifications for special work. This record should be of aid both to the teacher and to the employer who will have to deal with the young man or young woman later. Such a system is already in use in universities, many colleges, technical schools, normal schools, and specialized high schools. It might be universally extended to high schools, and to a lesser extent to the grades. The result would be of direct benefit to pupils leaving school. It would likewise increase the efficiency of the schools and the quantity and quality of the economic and social product of human society.

Vocational counselors. This analysis indicates the large responsibility placed upon the vocational counselor and the necessity of proceeding with care. No one should undertake the special work of counselor without wide study and caution. But a large mass of information is being collected for the use of teachers, and a school for the training of vocational experts has been established in Boston. Many school and philanthropic associations are having local surveys made both of the industrial environment and of the school population. A number of city schools are undertaking some one or more of the four functions required for a complete system of vocational guidance, and many more will do so as the value and the methods of guidance are more fully developed.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. Is it possible to have successful vocational education without vocational guidance?
2. What is meant by scientific management in the industrial world? Is it equally possible in schools?
3. Make a study of a small body of men, such as a college faculty or a commercial club, and determine how many are following the occupations they started with in young manhood.
4. What need is there for, and what could be done to meet the need of, vocational guidance in your school?
5. Do you think the facts obtained by Principal Davis in his vocational study in the Grand Rapids High School are typical of what exists in all high schools?
6. Was your high-school training of such a nature as to produce unconscious vocational guidance?
7. Analyze the table of occupations of college graduates, and give the reasons for the changes in recent years.
8. Make a study of the law or medical courses given in your state university, and explain why the training given ought to test the natural fitness of a graduate for the practice of law or medicine.
9. Make a class report on the professional ethics of law, medicine, the ministry, or engineering.
10. Why should the school, rather than some other social agency, be charged with the duty of vocational guidance?
11. What percentage of your high-school graduating class might have been benefited immediately by a school employment agency?
12. What personal qualities would be most helpful to a vocational adviser?
13. Have a classmate, or preferably some younger person, fill out the chart used for vocational guidance in Grand Rapids, and see if it contains significant items that would aid you in advising that person concerning the choice of an occupation.
14. Look up the early phrenologists' method of determining vocational fitness and analyze its weaknesses.

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CHAPTER XVIII

CULTURAL ASPECTS OF A SOCIALIZED EDUCATION

Ideals of culture. That a socialized education is not hostile to culture has been previously emphasized, but the continual tendency of educational writers to contrast vocational and cultural training makes it necessary to elaborate the idea. Education has always been a cultural process and will so remain. No amount of vocationalization of the program of studies and no use of education as direct preparation for life must be allowed to obscure the cultural ideals of our schools. But the conception of the nature and aim of culture has varied widely and is still open to revision. To the Oriental mind culture frequently meant a polished incompetence; to the Greek it meant taste and skill in the fine arts; to the mediæval mind it meant a refined leisure; and to the modern mind it has generally meant taste in the fine arts and refinement of manners. Present-day thought most frequently emphasizes some combination of these ideals with an occasional glimpse into a still broader realm where moral qualities are prominent. Seldom has culture been conceived in the breadth and fullness of spirit demanded by the evolution of modern society. The advance of the democratic spirit, coupled with the increase of wealth which makes for the well-being of the masses, the revolution in the nature of employments brought about by the mechanizing of industry, the advancing standard of living, the broadening of the spirit of social service, and the wide distribution of knowledge have all alike served to create a new background for culture. For the needs of the present, and particularly for the needs of the future, culture must be redefined in terms,

not only of the leisure, but also of the working-classes, in terms of vocation as well as avocation, in terms of real service in all phases of life participated in by all classes of society. It implies an appreciation of all that is best in life united with an effort to utilize all the means at hand for the elevation of the plane of everyday living.

Culture and democracy. Culture and democracy have been joined together in the past few decades as never before, and their union has been the basis of many of the changes brought about in our present society. Like liberty, equality, fraternity, love, and altruism, culture and democracy are absolute terms so intangible and inclusive as to elude satisfactory definition. They represent ideals rather than realities, ideals which we hope continually to approach, yet which are impossible of complete realization. There is no perfectly democratic man or society, and no perfectly cultivated man or society, and never can be. As we progress toward any fundamental ideal new vistas open up in the foreground which had not previously been visible and which offer new fields for human endeavor. Yet all progress is the result of this struggle to attain ideals.

Culture as an ideal was long confined to the favored few. It was thought to be a prize beyond the ken of the masses, an emblem too fine to appeal to the popular fancy, a flower so delicate that it could grow and blossom only in the sunshine of wealth, leisure, birth, or unusual educational opportunity. And this remained true so long as the ideal of culture was a thing apart from real life, an accompaniment of leisure and disassociated from work. But the complexity of modern life has opened up a thousand lines of cultural interest, many of which are associated with vocation, and the growth of democracy has elevated the masses to an intelligence where they are not merely able to enjoy, but to command, some of the materials of this culture. The result

is that our institutions are being revised to meet an altered idea of the cultural possibilities of the masses. No other field is so affected by these changes as that of education, and no other institution has so important a rôle to play in making real the ideals of a culture that is truly democratic.

There are two fundamental demands of democratic culture: (1) that it must pervade all of life, and (2) that it must reach all people. This may seem to be suggesting a rather large program, but nothing short of it can ever satisfy a democratic people. That we shall completely fulfill these demands is not to be expected; but that the public schools will do their share to bring us nearer to them is not to be doubted.

Pervasiveness of democratic culture. To say that culture should pervade all life may sound like a truism, but few persons have perceived its full significance and no people has attempted to realize it. The Athenians emphasized physical culture and many phases of intellectual culture, but they overlooked moral culture. They were brilliant but inaccurate, æsthetic but narrow, artistic but unmoral. Their culture was founded upon an economic basis of slavery, and they despised utilitarian work; hence their civilization was necessarily short-lived. Roman ideas of culture added certain moral virtues, but it still failed to recognize the cultural values of utilitarian labor. As long as the common man was looked down upon, his occupations were despised, and, as long as necessary work was despised, it was poorly done.

Enduring culture is impossible where reverence for accomplishment does not include all the necessary work of life. Mediæval culture was mainly ecclesiastical, and early modern culture was an echo of the Greek and Roman. It was only with the recognition of the dignity of all labor which came in with the democratic movement of the eighteenth century, and particularly with the nineteenth, that a solid

basis for enduring culture was laid. Only recently has the recognition of art in all labor, and the mutual dependence of the fine arts and the practical arts, laid the foundations of a new humanitarianism. Upon this union, or the synthesis of all the arts into a systematic whole, the highest of the arts, the art of living, depends.

Inclusiveness of democratic culture. That culture should reach all people is a complement of the dictum that it should reach all phases of life. Art is inseparable from the artist, and culture cannot recognize work without recognizing the workman. Any wide extension of culture was impossible under slavery, under serfdom, or even under a free system of labor where the laborer was contemned. All ancient and most modern civilizations have been based upon a rigidly stratified society, where one cultivated human layer was superimposed upon various strata of unorganized and unfinished human material beneath. Century after century, as the race has struggled upward, new social strata have risen to the higher plane and have extended a helping hand to those below. As the process goes on, with cumulative rapidity, the whole mass will in time be organized into a socially solidified civilization where culture will permeate all classes.

This democracy of culture can never become fully equalized, but its method of distribution will be perpendicular as well as horizontal, its appeal being to all members of all classes, each assimilating according to his ability and all recognizing more and more the value of mass sympathy and helpfulness. If invention is no more important than the socialization of mechanical processes, it is equally true that artistic achievement is no more important than the socialization of that achievement. Social service through artistic individual effort must be the ideal of all workers in the process of socializing culture.

The means of democratic culture. The means of social-

izing culture are likewise two in number, the democratization of the fine arts, and the refinement of the so-called "useful arts." Strictly speaking there can be no distinction between the fine arts and the useful arts. They so fade into each other that no critic can draw a definite line between them. The truth is that the fine arts may be made useful and the useful arts may be made fine. When the artist does work for the multitude he becomes an artisan, and when the artisan does work for the specialist he becomes an artist. They both labor with materials such as metal, wood, and cloth, or with living organisms, — plants, animals, and man, — and the only difference between the products of the artist and the artisan is the amount of thought, labor, and skill expended. Common work may be artistically done and so-called "artistic" work may be commonly done. The painter, the decorator, the cabinet-maker, the tailor, the artificer in wood and stone and metal, readily become artists when the proper amounts of time, effort, and intelligence are used in the fashioning of any particular commodity or service. In spite of this lack of real distinction between the fine and useful arts, the connotation of the two terms is so definite that it is worth preserving.

The fine arts. The first means of socializing culture, then, is through the democratization of the fine arts. In most cultural epochs the practice of the fine arts has been confined largely to the leisure class. Likewise the products of the fine arts have been accessible only to the well-to-do. Artistic achievement has been the result of surplus time and surplus means, and has therefore appealed to leisure-class tastes and interests. Decoration of the tombs of royalty, palaces, cathedrals, luxurious furniture, tapestries, paintings, landscapeing, poetry celebrating the deeds of military chieftains, sacred literature embalming the work of saints, and music in honor of royalty have been conspicuous subjects of art.

Only in recent centuries have public buildings, national causes, and popular heroes taken the place of incidental and less representative types of artistic subject-matter.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century certain pioneers, such as Ruskin and William Morris, began to plead for more democratic art and to apply artistic taste and judgment to commonplace things. Poets are singing more of the struggles of the common man, painters are idealizing the work and materials of ordinary life, sculptors are moulding into bronze and marble the aspirations of a whole people, orators are praising the dignity of everyday service, and architects are planning for the comfortable housing of the multitude. The direction of the whole field of artistic labor is turning to more popular materials, and the appeal is to an ever-widening audience.

Moreover, there has been a growing tendency in recent years for the artist in each of these realms to recognize the connection of his art with the work of the artisan. Some of the artistic color sense that previously went into easel pictures has been put into the designing of wall-paper, the dyeing of cloth, the use of color in photogravure, and the production of cheaper decorative materials. The types of literature have been increased and printing so cheapened that reading has become a popular diversion. Music is produced for every taste, and its accessibility through the invention and cheapening of mechanical reproducers, such as the phonograph and pianola, and the spread of choral singing, is bringing it to all classes of people. Landscape art is no longer confined to the grounds of the wealthy, but is applied to all public buildings, and is so widely distributed that more or less of its idealism is permeating even the homes of the very poor. Art collections of all kinds are being municipalized and opened to the public through loan collections. Every one of the fine arts is developing a mis-

sionary spirit and educating up to a higher standard of appreciation an ever-enlarging clientèle. Altogether it may be said that the fine arts are becoming socialized at so rapid a rate that it is no longer a utopian dream to expect them to permeate all phases of life and reach all classes of people. The artist formerly scorned to work for popular appreciation; now he is beginning to respond to the call of a wider public with an art that is nearer to the realities of everyday living.

The utilitarian arts. The second means of democratic culture is the universalization of the so-called "useful arts." Just as the fine arts must be democratized by being brought down from above, so the useful arts must be extended up from below. Appreciation, knowledge, and utilization of the essential features of both forms of art must be spread through all grades of society. There is no more reason why the artisan should appreciate, know about, and utilize the work of the artist than that the artist should appreciate, know about, and utilize the work of the artisan. It is only through this mutual relationship that the "instinct of workmanship" can be directed into the channels that will make it most effective in improving the art of living. But there is much of the necessary work of the world which has not yet reached the stage of artisanship. It is somewhat difficult to see how ditch-digging and some of our shop work can ever be made artistic. As previously mentioned there are all grades of productive effort and some types of work can never rank high in the artistic scale. Yet "intelligence, love of the beautiful, conditions making joy in labor possible" will elevate any work.

Contrary to popular notions machinofacture is superior to handicraft in its demands upon all the elements of artistic workmanship, and in spreading culture, because of the greater intelligence required and the universality of stand-

ardized products it furnishes. The monotony and mechanical nature of the demands it makes upon some workmen is a serious problem that is partly met by the increased leisure it brings through shorter hours and the higher standard of living it makes possible through higher wages. With the extension of intelligence, skill, and vision through our whole body of workmen, more and more of the drudgery of life will be performed by mechanical processes and a larger amount of leisure will be freed for other pursuits, many of which will be specifically cultural in nature. The great need of the common workman is the devotion of the artisan, of the artisan is the inspiration of the artist, and of the artist the sincerity and grip on realities of the artisan and the common workman. Viewed from the cultural angle civilization is a process of universalizing artistic achievement — of elevating common labor into artisanship and artisanship into artistic workmanship.

Culture in the public schools. In the struggle for cultural advancement through artistic achievement and its socialization the public school must bear an increasing part. Whatever may be said for utilitarian motives and aims in school work, — and the author has said much, — and whatever need we may have for increased vocational output and for the development of social efficiency, it is neither possible nor desirable that we overlook the cultural aims. Most of our institutions, such as the Church and the State, fraternal organizations and business, have their cultural mission; but it is insignificant and ephemeral compared with the cultural mission of the schools. Youth is the training time, the period of life when our minds are plastic, when ideals are being formed, and when the “set” of the mind and character is being determined. It is the young who dream dreams and have free imaginations, and who must receive the impress of culture if it is ever to become widespread. Each genera-

tion finds the school a more determining factor in life than the preceding one, and there culture must be emphasized if it is to gain a more dominant place in the lives of coming generations.

It is for this reason that culture has always been considered one of the aims of the schools, and very frequently has been spoken of as the sole aim. That other aims are equally important, and in the public schools of the present some may be more so, the author is willing to admit; but that in the struggle for human progress culture is a real dynamic agent, and should never be lost sight of in any training process, is unquestionable.

The assumption that the cultural and the vocational are mutually exclusive is absurd. If they cannot coexist in education, how can they coexist in life itself, of which education, after all, is but a part. The real antagonism is between a culture remote from life, which despises work, and a vocational training which has no time for culture. Culture, like every other phase of direct preparation for life, should at each stage of education parallel specialization and be paralleled by it.¹

The type of culture for which the public schools should stand is one which prepares for both work and leisure. They must struggle to bring about more of freedom, spontaneity, and joy in work, as well as to increase skill and output. They must strive to bring about more artistic effort in all kinds of work, and implant as deeply as possible in the minds of the young a love for finished workmanship. In the same way the public schools should train their pupils into a greater enjoyment of leisure. Pupils in a democracy must be educated, not to enjoy a life of leisure, but to make the most cultural use of the leisure of life. The mass of workers need the ability both to use the play spirit in their work and the work spirit in their play, to mingle vocation and avocation

¹ A. D. Yocum, *Culture, Discipline, and Democracy*, p. 143.

into a rounded, many-sided life, and to feel the cultural impulse and cultural inspiration in all the aspects of everyday living. This is impossible where they are not mingled into school tasks and other phases of youthful activity.

If we did no more than raise the standard of taste among the people by our instruction in school, we should thereby elevate all manufacture from raw materials in so far as the articles are made subject to æsthetic valuation. . . . But we do more than elevate taste, for we enhance the power to produce the beautiful, at least in arrangement, so that people can select those articles of dress or of household use which are harmonious; they can promote the beautiful as they hang pictures, arrange furniture, set tables, cook and serve food, make gardens, plant trees and shrubbery, keep their lawns mowed, make fences, walls, hedges, and outbuildings, trim hats, make dresses, laces or embroideries, or promote beauty in dozens of other ways. These tastes and capacities act and react on individual and community in ways that are powerful and often subtle.¹

In fact, the cultural influence in the schools is so far-reaching and significant that it must be reckoned with in every phase of school control — in administration, discipline, curriculum, method, and the wider out-reaches of the schools into the community.

Culture and school administration. From the time a pupil enters school in the morning until he leaves at night he should be in the midst of a cultural environment. Buildings, grounds, equipment should all be thoroughly adapted to their needs, artistic in finish, and worthy of the best ideals of the community. Fortunately this is already true of the school environment in our most progressive cities, is gradually becoming true in our towns and villages, and will some day be true in rural communities. School architecture is rapidly being standardized on a high plane, school landscaping is attracting more attention, and school equipment

¹ Charles DeGarmo, *Æsthetic Education*, p. 7.

is improving year by year. All these things are elevating public taste and appreciation for the substantial, the adaptable, and the beautiful by reaching children at the plastic stage where ideals are readily formed. As the schools realize more fully their social mission, and work out a liberal program adapted to modern conditions, the equipment for teaching domestic economy, manual training, business methods, social reform, and cultural organization will be improved through more effective use of buildings, playgrounds, laboratory, library, studio, and shop in furnishing guidance and inspiration to the pupils as they go out to do their part of the work of the world.

Cultivated leadership. The other cultural requirement in general administration is that of cultivated leadership. Boards of education should be representative of the better elements of society, and should be able to appreciate the value of cultural equipment and training in the schools. More than the board, however, the administrative staff of the schools — superintendent, principals, supervisors, and, in so far as possible, the ordinary teachers — should appreciate cultural values and be imbued with cultural zeal. No great amount of cultural inspiration is to be expected of the untrained teacher, and so long as such a large proportion of our teachers are merely elementary- or even high-school graduates, cultivated leadership will be wanting. But the employment of uncultivated men in leading positions in our organized systems is inexcusable. The amount of necessary preparation for all teachers is rising, but a little “speeding-up” in the process would greatly enhance cultural progress.

Two difficulties have in the past stood in the way of cultivated leadership in administrative positions. Superintendents and principals have generally been either college graduates without any professional preparation for their work, or normal graduates without a sufficient cultural foundation.

Between the two, the one representing the more cultivated individual and the other representing the more efficient methods, there has been little choice in cultural outcome. In these days of added responsibility and influence neither the general education alone nor the technical training alone is sufficient to meet cultural demands. A combination of the two is becoming more and more necessary. Hence our colleges and universities which turn out so many teachers are being compelled to add professional courses in preparation for teaching, and the normal schools are being compelled to add a full collegiate curriculum to the purely professional branches. We are moving toward a standardized teacher-training course which will be as uniform and definite as a law or medical course, which will require a broad educational foundation, and which will also give training in carrying the elements of culture into school organization and classroom work. When this full professional course is provided and the public is trained up to the point of accepting no one for an administrative position who has not had such a course, we shall develop a cultivated leadership in educational administration which will not only represent cultural living, but will make culture live in others.

Cultural elements in school discipline. The cultural elements in school discipline are numerous and more specific than those in general administration. First among these is the general bearing and cultural attitude of the teachers. If teachers are neat and orderly, self-controlled and sympathetic, fair-minded and idealistic, something of the same qualities will be reflected in the students. A proper appreciation of the needs and requirements of routine will tend to inspire obedience to the necessary mechanical features of discipline, while a sympathetic understanding of the nature and desires and standards of children will lay the foundations of personal leadership and influence. Add to these the

social and moral attributes of the effective teacher, and an adequate professional training, and the basic demands of cultural discipline will be met.

The second element in cultural discipline is cultural methods in its administration. Teachers who bluff and bluster, or who palliate and excuse coarseness and misconduct, or who use crude and unfair methods in enforcing school regulations, can scarcely have a refining influence upon their pupils. As previously pointed out the motives appealed to in all discipline should be the highest pupils can respond to, and any punishment necessary should be on the highest plane that can be made effective. Wherever discipline can be made positive and constructive, — that is, wherever adequate interest can be aroused in daily work to forestall trouble, or supervised organizations be used to satisfy the various demands of youthful nature, — cultural training is provided in a very natural and powerful way. Social discipline requires that the school be made a microcosm of the best standards and usages of society outside the schoolroom, and that these ideals and practices be enforced by all the personal influence the teacher can bring to bear upon the situation, added to the authority of the State which the public schools represent.

The third element in cultural discipline is that it must secure self-control and social responsiveness in the pupil. The old idea of discipline as repression has given way to the newer idea of discipline as expression. Conduct should express character rather than reflect submission. Whenever discipline is directed toward obtaining right action as a part of loyalty to one's better self, it is developing self-control, which is one of the prime essentials of the cultivated individual. Likewise when discipline is directed toward securing proper social reactions as a part of loyalty to the school society of which the pupil is a part, it is stimulating

the social responsiveness which is fundamental to the cultivated and altruistic member of society. True culture is inseparable from morality, and no phase of education is more conducive to moral conduct than wholesomely administered discipline.

Cultural elements in the curriculum. One of the most persistent problems in education, and one in which there is the least formulated consensus of opinion, is the extent to which the various elements of the program of studies lend themselves to cultural stimulus. The specialist in the languages, mathematics, the natural sciences, the social sciences, the fine arts, the manual arts, and domestic economy each claims for his own particular field a superiority in basic cultural significance, and the strange thing is that each seems to be able to make out a satisfactory case. The advocates for the "humanities" are particularly insistent that the classics, mathematics, and philosophy are more "liberalizing" than other features of the curriculum, and are able to bring to bear upon their contention the actual results of the practice of the centuries. The natural scientists can point to the economic development of the past two centuries, with all its cultural influences, and show that it has been largely due to scientific research and the applications of scientific principles in utilizing material forces. Experts in the fine arts can show that their work lies in the realms of the æsthetic where culture thrives as a native product. Advocates of the social sciences remind us that culture is the outgrowth of human contact and that the materials of their courses are directly applicable to the improvement of social, and therefore cultural, relations. Teachers of the manual arts are rightly sure of the close relation of their work to the development of the "instinct of workmanship" and of its cultural value in advancing both utilitarianism and idealism; while the representatives

of domestic economy are able to show the immense cultural value of direct efforts to improve the art of living through the development of skill and taste in home-making.

The cultural equivalence of school studies. An analysis of the arguments advanced will show a cultural equivalence of all the departments of school training that should lead every teacher to see beyond the narrow confines of his own specialty. The personal equation, which is the chief element of our customary departmental narrowness, being the product both of native preference and special training, is not only inevitable but highly beneficial. It gives dynamic power to the teacher and must continue to exist in subjective feeling; but in educational theory and objective judgment it is time for educators to cease controversy and face very patent educational facts. No study has any place in the curriculum of the public schools that is not practical, — that is, does not aid in the material and spiritual adjustment of the individual to his necessary environment, — and no study has any place in the curriculum which does not specifically and generally contribute to cultural living. No more obstinate fallacy persists in education than that the nature of the curriculum is the determining factor in cultural training. The institution which arrogates to itself the feeling of cultural superiority on account of the names of its required courses is more likely to narrow the vision of its students than to give them the liberal education it professes. No fair-minded observer would take a series of institutional catalogues and classify the institutions according to their cultural influence upon students solely on the basis of a required curriculum.

The truth is that in the hands of a master teacher all ordinary studies are cultural, and in the hands of a tyro all are perfunctory. Latin and Greek may be taught without reference to their cultural backgrounds, while German, or

French, or Italian, or Russian, or Sanskrit may be taught with special cultural emphasis. Mathematics may be pure drill, while manual training may be pure culture. Music and painting may be made mechanical, while domestic economy may be made artistic. Dressmaking and cabinet-making may inspire art no less than architecture, botany no less than æsthetics, bookkeeping no less than geometry, economics no less than ethics, debating no less than literature, and sociology no less than the classics. The skill and ideals of the teacher, the place of the stress, and the inspiration of the general subject-matter provide the cultural basis, while the cultural values are equally distributed between the aim of the course, the selection of materials, and the methods of handling the particular subject-matter chosen.

Cultural traditions *versus* freshness in point of view. Only one distinction in the cultural outcome of the various groups of study in the curriculum seems to be legitimate. The so-called "cultural" or "liberalizing" studies, the "humanities," have the superiority of age. They have gone through the sifting process of time, and successive generations of teachers, through the method of trial and error, have selected a representative body of illustrative material for the guidance of the teacher. This is unquestionably an advantage, particularly for the untrained and inexperienced teacher. But it also has its disadvantages. The scholastic mind is abstract and specialization is narrowing; therefore continued selection under former school conditions tended to constrict educational materials and remove them farther and farther from the needs of active life. Traditional illustrative material smacks of the cloister and, while it may be effective for certain types of mind, it is likely not to make a strong appeal to the masses of pupils from ordinary homes, who after all constitute the largest percentage of the pupils

in our public schools. In earlier school environments the humanities tended to become static, — as in mathematics, — or to encourage a backward-looking mind which idealized the narrower standards of culture represented by the distant past, — as in the classics; so that the undeniable advantages of humanitarian traditions should not be overemphasized.

On the other hand, the newer studies in the curriculum, such as the sciences and the practical arts, have the advantages of youth. They are adaptable, appealing on account of the freshness of their point of view, and are closely associated with the activities of present-day life. They are practical in the sense that the training they give is tangible and directly associated with both the vocations and avocations of the masses. Their cultural significance is evident in the building-up of the scientific spirit and of scientific knowledge, in adding to social insight and the efficiency of social control, and in developing skill in workmanship and taste in the ordinary arts of living. But they also have their disadvantages. They are so new that the sifting process has not been applied. There is no adequate selection of typical and representative illustrative materials to guide the teacher. Consequently many of them flounder about in a sea of projects and exercises and experiments without sufficient training or ability to steer the course of pupils toward any definite goal of scientific principles or artistic taste and skill. This is particularly true with reference to such inchoate subjects as sociology and the manual and domestic arts. Even the purpose of the newer studies in the curriculum is in controversy. The older studies are often too fixed, the newer ones too fluctuating, the traditional materials too far removed from youthful interests to make an effective appeal, and the undigested materials of the newer studies too commonplace and too poorly selected and handled to provide cultural inspiration. The old studies

need revision and adaptation, the new need thoughtful direction and sifting of materials, and when this has been accomplished each will be equally effective in promoting culture.

Cultural *versus* utilitarian emphasis. The results of the above analysis indicate that the practical aim and the cultural aim, in so far as they can be distinguished, should be present in every course. The two aims merely represent different points of view, they are complementary, and in the nature of things cannot be in essential conflict. They are inextricably intermingled in every relation of life and there can be no exception in the school. Appreciation, knowledge, and utilization all have both practical and cultural aspects, and social efficiency in the best sense is equally dependent upon the amount and finish of productive capacity and variety and taste in consuming capacity. Vocational motives and ends must be sought and maintained alongside cultural motives and ends in every study, while intense specialization in either is uncalled for in our public schools. Language, mathematics, the sciences, — physical, biological, and social, — manual arts, fine arts, and domestic arts, all have their place in socialized schools; and the amount of time devoted to each, the material selected for classroom use, and the methods of teaching adopted should be determined no less by cultural than by utilitarian standards.

Cultural elements in teaching method. There are two fundamental elements in classroom method which have decidedly cultural influence — that of teacher-pupil relations, and that of the type of workmanship demanded of the pupils. Teachers should not only be gentlemen or ladies themselves, but they should assume that pupils possess the same qualities. They should show reasonable cultivation in dress, speech, and manners, and insist upon a like attitude on the part of pupils. It is to be regretted that frowsiness of

dress, flippancy of speech, and crudity of manners are not confined to children, even in the schoolroom. Personal hygiene, correct speech, respect for the venerable, and polite address are gained more by imitation than by the iteration of precepts. The give-and-take of question and answer and other phases of teacher-pupil relations cannot be without its effect on similar relationships outside the schoolroom.

In addition there should always be an insistence upon cultivated form in the pupil's work. The student's English in the classroom discussions should be as correct and effective as it can be made. Written work should be prepared in as good form in regard to writing, composition, and punctuation as the maturity of the pupil will permit. Slovenliness of study and of thinking, bluffing, and reckless statement should not be tolerated, at least, should not be encouraged. Much of the crudity of form shown in business, society, and institutional contact could be avoided by proper insistence upon finished workmanship in our schools.

Cultural outlook of the schools into the community. The first element in the cultural influence of the schools on the community is the teacher's attitude toward community affairs. If teachers are to have professional standing and exert any vital influence on the community, they must be actively identified with institutional life outside the schools. They should be citizens in more than name. Unfortunately the temporary nature of the tenure of teachers often prevents them from investing in homes, joining local churches and lodges, or putting out roots into the soil of local government and life. Effective cultural influence demands that every teacher should assume the attitude of permanence. No other foundation will serve to bring about the neighborhood coöperation so necessary to the socializing work required of up-to-date schools.

The second element of community influence is specific

help in advancing community standards. Frank discussion and sympathetic advice in regard to local amusements, local organizations, and local methods of doing things are parts of the function of every leader of youth. Teachers are not called upon to be crusaders outside of school work, and should avoid radicalism in order to develop greater influence as counselors; but silence concerning extra-school activities injurious to pupils is professional cowardice unworthy of red-blooded men and women.

The third element of cultural community influence lies in the supervisory functions teachers are frequently called upon to assume in local affairs. Opportunities for aiding in the control of local institutions, such as censoring moving-picture films, serving on library or park boards, directing choruses, festivals, and community celebrations, or organizing non-denominational or inter-denominational religious associations, often come to the teacher and should not be shirked if he is to expect others to aid in school affairs. The teacher should not only be an active force in the community, but he should insist upon the community becoming an active force in the school. Mutuality is the price of all permanent and effective aid. School influence upon the community should be dynamic, should make itself felt at present as well as in the future, and should represent the highest intellectual and cultural standards in every neighborhood enterprise. No finer type of service can be rendered by the teacher than in leading his pupils to see clearly the significance of environmental influences and to struggle for higher ideals in active citizenship.

What we may expect of democratic culture. The ideal of culture outlined above is frankly pragmatic and hence may be termed "utilitarian," but it is at least real enough to serve as a guide in public school policy. The cultural aim must be fused with the practical aim in every phase of school

work. Vocational specialization must not be allowed to outstrip cultural specialization. There is no more reason why industrial and commercial training should be directed wholly toward increasing economic output than that artistic training in music and art and literature should be directed wholly toward increasing artistic output. The entrance into the schools of the children of the great masses of laboring people has created a problem of industrial efficiency which has led many of our educators to overemphasize mere production. Vocational training, to be liberally educative, must lay equal emphasis upon breadth of appreciation and efficiency of workmanship, while artistic training to be liberally educative must emphasize catholicity of taste as much as skill in literary or artistic or musical production. In fact, if either appreciation or utilization are to be neglected in the public schools, the needs of the masses who have just come into a new heritage of leisure demand that required work place the major emphasis upon training for appreciation and the minor emphasis upon utilization, leaving to later specialization the reversal of the place of emphasis. In a true democracy all must have access to the training that will enable them to enjoy reasonable cultural activities, must have skill enough to earn a livelihood with enough energy left over to exercise the taste acquired, and access to the materials of culture through reproductions of the masterpieces of every art. It is the cultural mission of the public schools to aid in bringing this about.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. Write out your ideal of a cultivated man.
2. Illustrate by progress in some definite line the statement that all progress is the result of the struggle to attain ideals.
3. What is the real distinction between the sculptor and the marble-cutter? the carpenter and the architect? the sign-painter, the magazine illustrator, and the portrait-painter?

4. Take one of the fine-arts — music, painting, architecture, or literature — and show what is being done in your community to socialize it.
5. Point out some specific improvements by which drudgery is being elevated into ordinary work by the use of machinery.
6. Explain the reasons for the superiority of machinofacture over the handicraft system of manufacture.
7. Will the use of good equipment in the domestic-science laboratory have any direct effect on the kitchen furniture and equipment in the home? If so, how?
8. Has the teacher a cultural right to use slang in the classroom? Is it culturally as important for the teacher to wear good clothes as it is for him to read good literature?
9. What are the cultural elements in manual training? in Latin? in algebra? in hygiene? in civics?
10. What are the cultural advantages of owning one's own home?
11. What is the cultural significance of the phonograph? of color photography? of the telephone?
12. Make a list of practical arts that are scarcely distinguishable from fine arts.
13. Are state schools less cultural in nature than privately endowed schools of the same sort?
14. Is the trend of the present-day public school away from culture? Give reasons for your judgment.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE SOCIALIZATION OF TEACHING METHODS

Function of the socialization of method. While discussing the socialization of the curriculum in the preceding chapters, we have been concerned mainly with the content of studies in terms of their social results. It remains as the final phase of the socialization of education to review the elements of form as applied in methods of instruction. Just as studies cannot be classified as utilitarian and cultural in the commonly accepted meaning of those terms, so they cannot be classified as form studies and content studies. Utilitarianism and culture, form and content, must run side by side in all studies, mutually reinforcing each other. Methods cannot be disassociated from aims, but must in every phase of school life be interchangeable as cause and effect. Educational purposes determine educational methods, and educational methods produce educational results. If educational aims are to be directed toward producing economically efficient and socially cultivated members of society, then educational methods should be social enough to guide the pupil into proper intellectual and emotional reactions toward his fellows. Also, since school life must be real life to the child rather than a remote preparation for adult life, the methods used must partake of the nature of the method: of real life in a school society that is not too distantly removed in organization and activity from the society in which the pupil must live and move and have his being in later years. To bring about a readjustment of school methods which will make them dovetail more perfectly into

social forms of action and influence outside the schoolroom is the function of the socialization of method.

The psychology of group stimulus. Specialists in social psychology (those who study the effects of the group on the individual mind) and in psychological sociology (those who study the effects of the individual mind upon the group) are agreed upon the general principle that the maximum effectiveness of the individual can only be attained under the impulsion of the group stimulus. Sublime thoughts, great inventions, artistic creations, and heroic actions may be individual and may take place in isolation; but they always have the background of social materials, social inspiration, and social purpose. Every great achievement is based upon the body of knowledge, material equipment, and cultural impetus built up by past generations and embodied in the social inheritance. What is true of great achievements is equally true of small, and what is true of the social inspiration of the adult is equally true of the child. It is not the purpose here to disparage the importance of individualistic instincts, motives, and purposes, but to put upon the same plane with them the social instincts, motives, and purposes; and, since the individual aspects of educational activities have been overemphasized in educational theory and practice, to attempt to restore a balance by emphasizing the social aspects. Some further psychological details will be necessary to make clear the basis of group methods.

Social phases of the learning process. The fundamental basis of all learning is the exercise of the primary instincts. These instincts are both individualistic and social. Dr. Royce says: —

Man's response to his environment is not merely a reaction to things, but is, and in fact predominantly is, a reaction to persons.¹

¹ J. Royce, *Outlines of Psychology*, p. 274.

He further states that our whole social consciousness lies in certain instincts which characterize us as social beings. In addition to a sort of general awareness of others there are the complex of special instincts which we characterize as imitation and another group which inspire social opposition and love of contrast. Through imitation the child learns its language, and acquires many of its mannerisms, habits, customs, and institutional biases. Through opposition and love of contrast the individual reacts against the domination of others and asserts himself.

The preservation of a happy balance between the imitative functions and those that emphasize social contrast and opposition forms the basis for every higher type of mental activity. And the entire process of conscious education involves the deliberate appeal to the docility of these two types of instinct.¹

Again, the more complex intellectual processes, such as conception, judgment, and reasoning, "result from the effects of social stimulation." We not only observe, compare, and classify objects and their phenomena, but we observe, compare, and generalize social phenomena. No intellectual process can be carried far without the aid of the essential factors of language, number, and dialectics. Conversation, either past or present, is the medium which holds in solution the germ of all complex ideas. In regard to moral attributes we not only characterize others, but we are interested to know how they characterize us. We imaginatively put ourselves into others' places, and are profoundly influenced by imaginatively viewing the probable acts of others if placed in our positions. Dr. Cooley says: —

No one can really stand alone, and the appearance of it is due simply to greater momentum and continuity of character [in some more than in others] which stores up the past and resists immediate influence. Directly or indirectly the imagination of how we appear

¹ J. Royce, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

to others is a controlling force in all normal minds. . . . To be normal, to be at home in the world, with a prospect of power, usefulness, or success, the person must have that imaginative insight into other minds that underlies tact and *savoir-faire*, morality and beneficence.¹

Whatever individual elements enter, it is in the stimulating atmosphere of free discussion, either actual or implied, that our most clear-cut ideas are formulated; and in the midst of the struggle of human forces, either real or imaginatively conceived, that our most heroic actions are born.

Influence of the group on the individual. To revert to Hayes's classification of group influences, they may be characterized as suggestion, sympathetic radiation, and imitation. Through these methods thoughts, sentiments, and actions are passed from one person to another, each member of the group giving and receiving, each process reciprocally reinforcing the other, intensifying, unifying, and innervating the group mind. All these phenomena are particularly noticeable in the mob and other pathological groups, but are equally present in all business, social, and cultural organizations. Crowd stimulus is intense, forceful, compelling. It is the paced or opposed runner who breaks the record; a world's series baseball game will bring plays impossible under ordinary conditions; an immense audience may produce bursts of oratory, music, or dramatic skill beyond the dreams of the artist; and the consciousness of a world looking on may make a martyr of a man of very common clay.

Isolated and group activity. To a lesser degree ordinary group stimulus will improve thinking capacity, conversational skill, manual dexterity, or moral stamina. Evidence of this fact is everywhere available. That it is particularly true of children's groups, with which we are most concerned in education, has been demonstrated in a number of ways.

¹ C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, pp. 172-74

Dr. Mayer, of Würzburg, by a number of experiments tested the ability of students when working alone and when working in groups. For this purpose he used exercises in dictation, mental arithmetic, written arithmetic, memory tests, and combination tests. The results of all of these tests indicated that the work of the pupils in groups was superior to that when working alone, in quantity or speed and quality. Dr. Norman Triplett tested the influence of the presence of a co-worker upon school-children in the performance of a simple physical activity. The children were asked to turn a reel as rapidly as possible, alone, and in company with another child. It was found that the best records were made by children working in combination with others. It must be noted that in some children the presence of a co-worker led to hasty, uncoördinated movements (which suggests the value of the steadying influence of a sympathetic teacher). Professor Meumann corroborated these experiments and added another important element. Seven pupils were repeatedly tested with the dynamometer and the ergograph. With no one else in the room the pupils did the least work, with the teacher present they did more, and with other pupils present and the teacher absent they did the most work. Meumann's experiments indicate one missing link in the chain. With proper sympathy and the steadying influence of a wise teacher-leader added to the pupil group the results accomplished ought to be greater, both in quantity and quality, than in any of the three tests mentioned. These conditions should be fulfilled in the well-regulated schoolroom.

Still another test has been brought to bear on this same problem. Professor Schmidt, in a painstaking investigation, tested the work of school-children in their home work as compared with their school work. For most kinds of work the product of the classroom was found to be superior. And

if environmental influence is as great as it is generally considered, and as we have contended, this is just what we have a right to expect. Psychologists have maintained that action begets action, self-control begets self-control, and conduct begets conduct. One child studying suggests study to another, one child playing stimulates another to play, one child's impertinence leads to other impertinences. When many children are united in any one kind of activity, or absorbed in one line of thought, or thrilled with one type of emotion, a sort of group mind or class spirit is engendered which has a suggestively compelling force upon others. Imitation, emulation, and rivalry are dynamogenic. In children the social instincts are so strong and impelling that if companions are not present they are imaginatively created. Moreover, we never get beyond this habit. The successful writer is always conscious of the reactions of his reader, the orator of his audience, and the artist of his public. In fact it may well be doubted whether or not the triumphs of solitude are not as social as those of the public function, the only difference being that in one case the social medium is one of flesh and blood, in the other it is immaterial. If this be true, privacy is necessary to original types of accomplishment only that an environment of more appreciative spirits may be created in the mind of the worker by the exclusion of unsympathetic people.

The school as a social group. As indicated in Chapter III, society is composed of a series of groups which were characterized as primary, intermediate, and secondary. These groups vary in size, form, composition, sanction, aim, spirit, and effectiveness. Some are coherent and long-continued; others are loosely knitted together and temporary. The school is an intermediate group where contacts are both direct and indirect. As an agency of the State it is compulsive in its sanction, complex in its composition, and, tradi-

tionally at least, it lacks unity, *esprit de corps*, and in many ways effectiveness. Each of these phases requires analysis.

The public school is founded by state sanction, and has back of it the compulsive power of government. Teachers are direct agents of the State, the law generally compels attendance, and the home, the church, and the general community spirit reinforces school authority. While many pupils are glad to go to school, still they have no choice in the matter. They must go or be more or less outlawed in the community. This compulsive force back of the teacher has frequently led to an autocratic school organization and control which have cut off freedom of response and goodwill on the part of the pupil. While society will doubtless continue to require schooling of all of its citizens, both as a safeguard and as a cultural agency, the recognition of group possibilities through a more social type of child psychology will lead to the introduction of more initiative, more freedom, and more voluntary organization within the state-sanctioned school group.

Complexity of the group. The complexity of the school group is due, first, to the difference between the age and experience of teacher and pupil. When the child enters school the teacher is a stranger, mature, learned, and awesome. Much tact and ingenuity are required to bring about the personality adjustment necessary to restore spontaneity, frankness of expression between teacher and pupil, and the sense of happy followership on the part of the pupil necessary to the best work. The teacher must serve *in loco parentis* and also represent the more general demands of a larger society. In the second place, the child is taken from the home and other small groups where association is intimate and the composition of the group is fairly homogeneous. In school the body of pupils is heterogeneous, representing a variety of ages, temperaments, traditions, and

3. ideals. The pupils come from all sorts of homes where their training has been refined or crude, their surroundings rich or poor, and their social impulses aristocratic and exclusive or democratic and cosmopolitan. Some have read, others have not; some have traveled, others have a narrow geographical outlook; some have been well disciplined while others have been spoiled by neglect or overindulgence. This heterogeneous aggregation must be moulded into homogeneity through the careful guidance of the teacher, and the best traditions and ideals represented must be generalized into school spirit. The third element of complexity comes from the educational materials embodied in the school as an institution, including the equipment in textbooks, library, and laboratory supplies, and the traditions clustering about the school inheritance. These are almost totally new to the pupil, and may be made either stimulating or depressing, a bond of love leading the child into a new world of delight, or of enmity bringing to the surface all the native instincts of opposition and self-assertiveness.

Unity of spirit a development. The unity, spirit, and effectiveness of the school group is dependent upon a variety of influences. Traditionally the school has been generally thought of as a competitive struggle between the teacher with the body of cultural materials at his command and the group of pupils cemented together in feeling by the forceful tactics employed to make them accept the abstract knowledge offered. While this representation was something of a caricature, it also had too much basis in actual practice. Socialized method demands that the teacher have training, intelligence, and a social nature, and that he make a sufficient study of the nature and environmental influences of his pupils to lead them as rapidly as possible into a school spirit that will bring them *en rapport* with all of the selected stimuli which the school affords. Teacher-pupil relations,

pupil-pupil relations, and school-public relations should be fused into a unity and a coöperation that will call forth all of the enthusiasm, loyalty, and energy of the child in his newfound work. In order to make school method most effective, the group spirit must be recognized, and it must be so organized and directed that childish responses and childish virtues will expand to meet the requirements of an enlarged social life. Careful attention to all sorts of group activities is necessary to make this transition as smooth and compelling as possible.

Three types of group relationships may be mentioned as necessary to this function: (1) spontaneous group activities; (2) deliberately organized groups outside the classroom; and (3) the use of group methods within the classroom. It must not be assumed that all of the child's inspiration must come from group stimuli. Individual influences must remain an equal force with the social, but the traditional emphasis upon individual stimuli requires that group stimuli be more emphasized than they have been in ordinary school practice.

1. Spontaneous play groups

When any group of children is brought together the fundamental social instincts immediately set up a process of socialization. Thoughts, feelings, and actions on the part of natural leaders are communicated to the group by the usual methods of social distribution. The natural expression of childish activity is through play, and hence the play group is the foundation of social unity. Spontaneous play groups are used by children in trying out each other. A group of boys will test the mettle of a newcomer by his strength, his ability at play, and his willingness to sacrifice for the advancement of group projects. Hazing in some form is an initiatory process in all social living, whether in spontaneous or deliberately formed groups,

either of children or of older people. Instead of being crushed among children, it should be encouraged, directed, and spiritualized. If the brutal hazing sometimes practiced by high-school and college students and on the frontiers of society is to be stopped, more refined methods of testing the socializing qualities of individuals must be taught in early years.

It is, therefore, the proper function of teachers to guide, not to crush, to refine, not to discourage, instinctive methods of the school group in doing for school society what more settled traditions, fixed laws, and a sobered spirit do for the mature in the social group. Children must conform to the reasonable demands of the pupil group as they must to the reasonable demands of the teacher and the curriculum, and as the citizen must conform to the demands of organized society. In the school the teacher must take the place of the State in setting metes and bounds to socializing processes. But the State is largely negative in its methods of control, and here the teacher, by virtue of his matured personality and his trained leadership, ought to improve upon general social control through positive and constructive disciplinary methods. Many an outlaw among the children could be saved by wise restraint of group excesses and a kindly insistence that individualistic pupils show reasonable conformity to the children's group standards. This is the kind of mental and moral training that will carry over into life because it is like in kind and can be made like in degree to general social demands upon the individual.

Spontaneous work groups. In the same way spontaneous working groups should be encouraged and directed. A school project spontaneously undertaken is already half completed. If pupils want to give an entertainment, or to make a garden, or to collect a museum, or to hold a debate, or to study

monastic life or municipal government, the compulsion of the group spirit may be used to get results impossible under teacher and textbook dictation. The wise teacher will be as careful to note the outcropping of this spontaneous group interest as the statesman is to catch the first reverberations of public feeling, or the general to utilize the fighting enthusiasm which occasionally stirs his army.

2. Deliberately organized extra-classroom groups

Group athletics. But spontaneous group activities are not alone sufficient. The teacher has definite things to accomplish and cannot always wait for the pupil spirit to move. If the statesman always waited upon and followed public opinion, he would degenerate into the time-serving politician, and if the general waited for the emotions of his soldiers to drive him into battle, his army would sometimes be whipped before the battle began. Deliberately planned organizations should be formed in every school to stimulate, to systematize, and to direct the latent social power that is always present in the school group. The physiological play spirit should be organized into group athletics where the games chosen, the rules adopted, and the spirit fostered may be made such as to meet the needs of the great body of pupils, to prevent excesses, and to develop a higher degree of intelligence, fair play, and driving power than the children alone would be able to get from the simple games they have learned at home and on the street. No greater educational possibility — physical, mental, and moral — lies within the province of the teacher than that of the reorganization of play on higher levels. For this purpose the ordinary teacher now has coming to his assistance the trained and intelligent playground supervisor.

Cultural groups. Cultural organizations are as necessary and as effective along mental and moral, as along the physi-

cal, lines. The literary, musical, dramatic, conversational, and civic impulses of children are as social as their gaming impulses. As previously suggested some of these motives can be reached through spontaneous group activities, but continuity of cultural appeal demands definite organizations. These should not be forced down upon pupils from above, but should be inspired from within the school group of which the teacher must be a vitalizing part. The form, purpose, and spirit of these organizations must be adapted to the maturity and cultural ideals of the pupils, and as much initiative, freedom, and responsibility be allowed them as they are able to use intelligently. Literary societies, debating clubs, dramatic clubs, musical clubs, social-form clubs, school cities, and a variety of similar organizations have been used successfully in the elementary schools. Each of them gives its practical and cultural training as a part of the present life of the pupils and, therefore, fits the pupils directly for cultural reactions and cultural activities in similar situations in later life.

Social groups. Another type of formally organized group work is the purely social. In our democracy fraternal, business, church, and political organizations are bringing all classes of society more and more into contact. In purely social affairs alone do we still draw class lines in such a way that members of one of our social strata are not more or less at home in another. If it is desirable to bridge the chasm between artificial hereditary classes, — and there are few who do not believe that it is, — it would be eminently worth while to cultivate a little more of social democracy. The school group brings children of all classes together before class lines are hardened, and the free mingling of high and low, rich and poor, seems to be helpful to all on the playground and in the classroom. Why would it not be equally beneficial socially? School sociability, properly

organized and conducted, would be an entering wedge to more democratic relationships in general society. There is no proof that the citizenship and mental attitudes of the so-called "upper classes" would not be as much improved by centering more of social life about the school as would the social and civic habits of the so-called "lower classes." The social center is as much needed in schools where one class predominates as where the other predominates. Sociability rooms are as much needed as gymnasiums or laboratories, and social advice, social stimulus, and social leadership are as important as athletic and scientific direction.

Moral groups. The final type of group work is the moral and religious. Young Men's Christian Associations, Young Women's Christian Associations, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, are already found in many high schools, and adaptations of them would be just as effective in the elementary schools. The emotionalizing of standards of conduct through religion has been one of the processes by which the race has enforced its moral sanctions in all ages. A religious attitude that is broad enough and pure enough to give the child a religious motive for ordinary conduct would not only improve that conduct, but would give the child a religious training that would enable him to rise above much of the denominational pettiness of present society. General religious intolerance, together with an inability on the part of the average teacher to separate the inner essence of religion from the dogmas of formal theology, makes religious teaching in the public schools for the present a mere academic question, and only the more innocuous types of religious training a safe school enterprise. Other types of organization with an ethical basis, such as the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts, the big sister and big brother movements, and similar efforts at moralization should be fostered.

3. Group methods within the classroom

The classroom group may be said to consist of the teacher, the textbook and other prepared materials, and the pupils. In the traditional classroom congeniality has not always thriven, but the better pedagogy of our present-day schools is developing a spirit of free inquiry that is more wholesome. Two phases of classroom group work require treatment — the recitation proper and group projects.

The recitation. Every type of recitation — study, development, application, question and answer recitation, review, and drill — lends itself to group work. As previously shown, study can best be done in an environment of study. Meumann's experiments indicated, in opposition to a widespread delusion, that the usual noises of the schoolroom — whispering, writing, walking about, dropping of pencils and books, and the occasional words of the teacher — have no particular distracting influence. Moreover, most of the work of life has to be performed in the midst of certain inevitable disturbances, and, even if the presence of others did not stimulate better work as effectually as it does, the training in concentration it provides might well be a needed outcome of group work in study.

In the development and application lessons, free play of the group spirit through active discussion is necessary to the best work. General problems, questions, and topics can best be developed, solved, and applied when each member of the class group is required to give his attention, is allowed to offer suggestions and make tentative proposals. No more stimulating exercise is open to the human mind than wholesome discussion, and the classroom topic offers unrivaled opportunities for keeping discussion on a high plane. Much of the superiority of Greek education over any type prevalent before the opening of the nineteenth

century was due to the skillful use of the conversational method. While the individual topic will always have its place, it is wasting the time and attention of the other members of the class not to keep their minds centered upon the question under discussion. The method so frequently used in earlier days, and not yet so obsolete that every reader will not be able to recall examples from his own experience, where the teacher was so regular and methodical that each pupil knew when he was to be called upon and had time to prepare for his response, was so individualistic as to reduce the teacher to a mere taskmaster rather than a class leader. It was the presumption of this method on the part of the teacher which led to the earlier belief in the superiority of the tutorial over the school method of education. The development and application of specific classroom topics call for the gradual unfolding and refining of thought in which as many pupils as possible will have a part. Both the development- and application-lessons may profitably be combined into one in many current applications of textbook principles to local and present-day affairs, in such studies as history, literature, civics, geography, and science.

Recitation contacts. The same reasoning applies to the regulation question and answer recitation. If the questioning and answering is confined to individuals the teaching degenerates into mere drill of a perfunctory sort. Almost the whole stimulus of pupil upon pupil is lost. There was a day when education was supposed to come down from above, to be conferred upon the pupil by the teacher and the textbook. But that day has long since passed away. Pupils sharpen the wits and expand the souls of each other, and the teacher who fails to use this lateral pressure in forcing seriousness of thought and correctness of speech is losing one of his best opportunities. The pert suggestion coming down from higher educational circles that the college stu-

dent should not allow his studies to interfere with his education is in reality a tribute to the educational virility of extra-classroom influences. Modern schools are wiser than many realize in very sedulously cultivating school spirit because of the intensity of stimulus which social solidarity in the school society brings about. Proper classroom emulation, rivalry, and criticism provide too powerful a driving force to be neglected in securing the intensity of effort which results in brain-stretching mental processes. In a well-conducted recitation many of the questions will be put to the whole class and voluntary responses be called for. Also the response must be, not to the teacher, but to the classroom group, of which the teacher is but a part.

In the same way the review and drill lessons should utilize the group spirit to reinforce individual attention and application to the work in hand. A certain amount of all our learning comes through drill, and this is especially true of beginning work in any study where the tools must be mastered for later use. Reading, writing, and numbers require a large amount of this drill, and the social instincts of emulation and rivalry may be used as partial motivation for otherwise burdensome drudgery. Concert reviews and competitive drills illustrate the use of these methods. The pupils may be divided into groups or sides, and the play impulse be used as a stimulus to intensity of application. The writer recently visited a third-grade room where the number tables were being learned in this way. The boys were pitted against the girls, and a representative of each was sent to the board to write out the allotted tables. Intense enthusiasm prevailed, and there was not a pupil whose interest and effort were not enlisted. Other methods of appeal to the group spirit would be equally successful in the socialization of routine work.

Group projects. Group projects are coming more and

more into regular school work as a method of developing initiative, resourcefulness, independence, coöperation, and organizing ability. There are a multitude of these projects that may be distributed through the various studies, and many ways of handling them. The teacher may propose a number of them, and allow the pupils in free discussion to choose the ones to be undertaken. A still better method is to have suggestions come from the pupils, the choice to be made after discussing their feasibility and value in the class. A certain amount of time must be set apart for the work and definite plans of procedure outlined. In a particular room several different groups may be formed, and a variety of projects be in process of completion at the same time. Some sort of self-organization, either into formal or informal groups, must be effected to assure all a share in the work and the management.

Professor Colin A. Scott, in his *Social Education*, has discussed quite fully the value of self-organized group work, and has given two chapters to a description of things actually done under his supervision.¹ Members of two third-grade classes in the Cook County Normal School were allowed to propose certain things that they would like to do. Three half-hours a week were set apart for this work and this was later, on the petition of the pupils, increased to three quarters of an hour a day. During the year one class formed fourteen groups, among them being a photograph group, a clay-modeling group, a printing group, two sewing groups, two science groups, and two groups for presenting plays. In the other class, composed of fifty pupils, thirty-eight groups were formed. These groups produced twenty-one plays during the year. In addition there were groups for clay modeling, reading stories, painting, printing, sewing, the observation of ants, the study of birds, the making of

¹ Chapters vi and vii.

a "Spring Book," woodcutting, dancing, room decoration, studying the rules of baseball, collecting postage stamps, running a post-office, and a number of other things. Each member of the class was in six or seven groups during the year, and sometimes there were as many as seven groups running at the same time.

The striking feature of these self-organized groups seemed to be the ability of the pupils to manage their own affairs, and their natural willingness to work at their self-appointed tasks. With so many groups the percentage of leadership was very high and the coöperative spirit was essential. In neither room was there any falling-off in the work of the regular studies.

Similar work has been attempted and found successful in many schools all over the country. In fact, a large share of the experimental schools which have been springing up over the land in recent years have made a specialty of this sort of effort to stimulate motive and self-direction on the part of pupils. Many of the projects have been extensive, such as building houses, making machinery, reconstructing historical buildings, dramatizing historical events, organizing pageants, writing and staging plays, etc. No better method of emotionalizing the materials of the curriculum seems to have been devised than the group project, nor has anything in recent years done more to call attention to the need of broadening the field of education from the purely intellectual to the social and moral aspects of life.

Social functioning of group methods. The fundamental idea back of the use of group methods in the school is that of unifying the work of life. As society becomes more complex the process of differentiation makes us increasingly dependent upon each other. This calls for the expansion of coöperative effort in all social living. If society is growing more socialistic, it is manifest that the socialization of the child should be deliberately fostered. The social group of the

school provides the most extensive and effective medium for this purpose. It represents a large share of the real life of the child, and should be so conducted as to fit the child most directly into the social atmosphere that he must breathe in later life. Since form and content must harmonize in all cultural and socially efficient training, the socialization of method must parallel the socialization of administration, discipline, and the curriculum in our schools. The advantages of utilizing the school group in the socialization of method may be summarized as follows:—

1. It recognizes the school as a separate identity, with a social spirit of its own, worthy of loyalty, sacrifice, and service.

2. It provides a basis for intimate and continual contact of the teacher with the activities of children, through which he may better understand the working of the child mind. It should therefore serve as an antidote to the perpetual tendency of the teacher to relapse into the use of mature and abstract methods.

3. It tends to stimulate a spirit of fellowship between teacher and pupil which not only aids in school control, but projects the teacher's personality influence beyond school jurisdiction.

4. It gives zest to the pupil's interest in school by giving him some of the self-direction of his energies to which he is accustomed in the home.

5. It provides the natural stimuli of imitation, rivalry, and ambition to excel which add as much to the spice of life as to its achievements.

6. It affords training in leadership and followership, repression and expression, self-control and dialectic skill.

7. It teaches methods of coöperation with associates, parliamentary procedure, and the necessity of compromise in opinion and action.

8. It cultivates democracy by putting children into active and intimate contact with each other as co-workers and competitors at an early age, and under conditions where merit alone is recognized.

9. It promotes the ability to use freedom without license, initiative without recklessness, and spontaneity without frivolity.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. Take some specific artistic production, such as a painting or a musical composition, and trace the social elements entering into its production.
2. Illustrate the force of imitation in determining one's institutional preferences.
3. Show by historical examples that oratory is as much dependent upon the audience and the occasion as upon the orator.
4. Were the martyrs of the Inquisition more heroic than Christians today, or was it merely the social demands of the times that made them appear so?
5. Do you think it possible in such tests as those of Meumann that the group of pupils would inspire each other to do more work without the presence of the teacher than with the presence of the right sort of teacher? Illustrate your view from experience or observation.
6. Give illustrations of methods of testing newcomers in cases you have observed among children.
7. What are the benefits to the individual hazed, when proper methods of hazing are used?
8. Explain the advantages of the freshman-sophomore "rushes," "scraps," contests, etc.
9. To what extent should the school authorities protect an individualistic student who refuses to conform to group standards?
10. What are the advantages to the well-trained child of mingling with less-cultivated children in school gatherings?
11. Why should the textbook and other prepared materials be considered a part of the school group?
12. What percentage of questions should be propounded to the whole class rather than to individual students? What would determine this percentage?
13. Make a list of group projects suitable to a one-room rural school.
14. What means would you use to prevent the tendency toward frivolity of certain pupils in group projects?

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CHAPTER XX

THE ESSENTIALS OF THE SOCIALIZED SCHOOL

IN concluding a sociological discussion of our school system it seems desirable to bring together here the essentials in the work of reorganization necessary to bring the school into harmony with community needs and the requirements of a progressive democratic society. This is particularly necessary with reference to the rural school, which is sufficiently unique in our present society to form a special problem in our educational advancement. Its fundamental weaknesses, due in large measure to the rapid economic and social changes in rural life, and the need for fundamental reorganizations in rural education, must be driven home to our people. Means for meeting these new conditions must be perfected and realized in practice if rural life is not to lose its charm and effectiveness.

1. The socialized rural school

Rural-school conditions. There are over two hundred and twelve thousand one-room rural schools in the United States. They have a total enrollment of over six and one-half million pupils, or 37.6 per cent of the total enrollment of all public schools. There are also a large number of two-room schools and consolidated rural schools of larger size, enrolling 39.8 per cent of the total rural enrollment. The purpose of these schools is to educate our country children. How well they are doing it is a matter of some controversy; but most writers hold that the rural school is the weakest link in our educational chain. Certain it is that they have been slower in adapting themselves to changed conditions than have the

city schools. Change is naturally slower in institutions with a conservative clientèle. As previously pointed out, people who must live remote from each other and in comparative isolation do not so readily fall into the current of progress as do people whose contact with like-minded people is frequent and intimate. So it is scarcely to be expected that the adaptation of the rural school to new conditions and new demands will proceed with great rapidity. Nevertheless, we find in the country a wholesome unrest and a growing dissatisfaction with school conditions as they exist, and something of a determination to see that the rural school is made a really effective factor in building up life in the open country.

((Criticism of the rural school is directed at each of its chief features: (1) its administration by the public; (2) its teaching force; and (3) the value of the work accomplished. Each of these factors deserves study and requires improvement if an effective reorganization of the rural-school system is to be brought about.

(1) **Rural-school administration.** The one-room school serves a small district and is usually under the control of a popularly elected board of directors, composed of three members. These directors, like other small office-holders, are about an average of the voters of the district. They usually take the office lightly, and when they do not they are apt to meddle too freely in the purely technical phases of schoolroom work. They employ the teacher, fix the salary, and control, either wholly or in part, the tax levy for school purposes. The buildings, grounds, and supplies for school work are under their direction. This system is in accord with our inherited democratic traditions, but it cannot be said to be in accord with the principles of present-day democratic efficiency as applied in other phases of associated life where progress has been most rapid. In addition to the local

board there is, in most sections of the United States, a county superintendent of schools. He is in theory a school supervisor, looking after the professional side of the schools rather than the business side, but in practice he is also a business supervisor and his actual work influences the directors as well as the teacher.

Such a system of school government has several weaknesses. An average county has from fifty to one hundred and fifty districts. This requires from one hundred and fifty to four hundred and fifty school directors in each county. To suppose that such a number of men — and most boards are composed wholly of men — can be found in the rural districts who have the requisite interest in school work and the breadth of mind necessary to successful administration, is overstretching human credulity. In Illinois forty thousand school directors are required for the rural schools, in Missouri twenty-eight thousand, in Michigan and in Kansas twenty-five thousand. City administration in those States shows the value of concentration. Chicago, with twenty-one school directors, employs half as many teachers and spends annually nearly three times as much money as all of rural Illinois. Even twenty-one board members is more than double the number required for efficiency. Other cities, such as Boston, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, have school boards of from five to twelve members.

Lack of funds. Another weakness of the district system of administration is the inability to get enough money to run good schools. As a rule country people are ultra-conservative, lacking in appreciation of educational advantages, and are unaccustomed to any free expenditure for cultural purposes. Rural wages are low, partly because it has been impossible for rural people to see the fairness of the high wages the expert everywhere commands. Consequently the wages demanded by good teachers look exorbitant, and such

teachers in consequence go where they are more appreciated. What is true of the teacher's wages is also true of expenditures for buildings and grounds and equipment. In 1909-10 the rural-school enrollment comprised 62.3 per cent of the total school enrollment of this country, as against 37.7 per cent for the cities; while the rural-school expenditure for teachers' salaries was only 45.5 per cent, as compared with 54.5 per cent for the cities. The total school investment shows 32.4 per cent for rural schools, and 67.6 per cent for city schools; while the amount spent for the education of each child shows \$12.52 for the rural, and \$30.78, or two and one-half times as much, for each city child. The fundamental trouble is that the small rural-school district is entirely too small a taxing unit to use for school maintenance.

(2) **The teaching force.** The second general criticism of the rural school is directed at the teaching force. Rural-school teachers are not carefully selected. They are neither fully trained nor well trained. There is scarcely a normal or training school in the United States that would defend its training of rural teachers as reasonably adequate. The agricultural colleges do no better. Moreover, the larger share of rural teachers have not attended these schools. Many of them are merely graduates of the elementary schools, and some not even that. There is a tendency everywhere to raise the training requirement by state law up to the high-school graduation standard, but it is as yet far from universal. No satisfactory system of training rural teachers that is effective for large numbers has been anywhere carried out. While many schools are working upon the question, no one has as yet devised a scheme of education that is brief enough and at the same time practical enough to give warrant for feeling that we are really in a fair way toward solving the problem.

Unfortunately the situation is so complex that too few schools are attacking it seriously. It has been found that teachers who are ambitious enough to prepare themselves adequately for teaching work do not wish, under present conditions, to go into the country schools. Up to the present there are too few opportunities for advancement among country schools to attract the right kind of teachers. Salaries are meager, appreciation is lacking, the work is hard, and living conditions are undesirable. Men and women of ingenuity, force of character, love of the open country, and broad understanding of rural needs are desirable. But when the requisite ability is found, it is generally discovered that the city offers the men and women possessing it greater advantages than the country, and hence, if they are willing to undergo proper training, they drift naturally into city school work. A fundamental basis for improving the situation with any degree of rapidity is the securing of better financial support for the rural schools.

Percentages of trained teachers. The training of the present rural teaching force is shown quite fully by a table in Bulletin No. 8 (1913), of the United States Bureau of Education. Facts gleaned from this table indicate that the percentage of rural teachers without any training above the elementary schools, for certain States where figures are available, are as shown in the following tables: —

TABLE I

Rural teachers with no training above the elementary schools

Connecticut.....	6.0 per cent
Kansas.....	36.3
South Dakota.....	29.9
Texas.....	80.5
Wisconsin.....	24.4

TABLE II

Rural teachers who are not high-school graduates

Connecticut.....	17.0 per cent
Illinois.....	32.4
Kansas.....	60.2
Minnesota.....	51.9
Tennessee.....	79.
Texas.....	92.3

TABLE III

Number of rural teachers without previous experience

Colorado.....	16.2 per cent
Illinois.....	28.8
Kansas.....	24.5
Kentucky.....	15.2
Mississippi.....	20.
Tennessee.....	30.

Some other States probably would not show conditions materially different. Lack of permanence of tenure is fully as serious an evil as lack of training. Rural teachers are peripatetic. Few remain more than two or three years in the same place, and the number of schools with new teachers each year is very large. Figures are available for several States, and the percentage of new teachers is shown in Table III. The average of these States is 22.45 per cent, and is probably not far from the general average. Not only do the teachers remain too short a time in one district to exert any special influence outside of the schoolroom, but many of them reside in neighboring cities or spend their week-ends at home. Such teachers acquire little interest in rural affairs, nor do they show any special attachment for the neighborhood they serve. They fail to get the rural perspective, and make little effort to adapt their instruction to the particular needs of rural pupils. The school thus becomes a mere drill

center for the acquisition of book knowledge rather than a place for educational inspiration and training.

(3) **The rural curriculum.** The third indictment against the rural school is in regard to the kind of work carried on in the schoolroom. A program of studies, to be effective, must take account of the needs of the pupils taught. It must train them in the science and art of living as they are to live in after years. That the average rural-school curriculum is well adapted to this end few would maintain. Most of the textbooks used have been written primarily for city children. Their point of view and illustrations are urban, and uniform state series textbooks tend to perpetuate this condition. The distinctive interests of country children are ignored. Most of the education given is of such a type as to turn the intellectual vision of the children toward the city. Few of the teachers are properly trained or sufficiently trained to give supplementary work in the various studies in order to adapt them to rural conditions. The courses cannot be properly motivated for rural children unless the illustrative materials of the studies taught are taken from rural life. The type of arithmetic, geography, language, reading, hygiene, and civics taught are not sufficiently localized. Rural ideals, rural problems, and practical agriculture are touched lightly, and too frequently without either sympathy or insight. On the whole, it may be said that the program of studies in the rural school is a traditional one, giving traditional knowledge in conventional ways, and without an appreciable attempt to meet the fundamental rural-life problems.

Rural socialization. Out of these weaknesses in administration, financial support, teaching staff, and program of studies, the rural school must be led to better things through a process of socialization. Complete socialization requires complete adaptation of the schools to the needs of the soci-

ety they serve. These needs are not limited to the purely practical and vocational requirements in the narrow sense, but include the cultural and inspirational as well. The country needs school work that will add to the zest of life in the country, that will stir ambition, that will widen the horizon of the pupil, and that will stimulate the effort to live on a higher plane and the desire to get and appreciate the best that our civilization affords. It needs these things no less than does the city, and to provide them will require a large advance along all lines for the country school.

2. Essentials of a socialized rural school

The essentials of a socialized rural school are: (1) such administrative consolidation as will produce school districts large enough to provide pupils enough for socialized work; (2) adequate material and teaching equipment; (3) adequate financial support; (4) specially trained teachers, with comparatively permanent tenure; (5) a program of studies adapted to the needs of rural pupils; and (6) proper community interest and coöperation.

(1) **Consolidation of rural districts.** In regard to the size of the district it may be taken as the standard that no school should have too small an enrollment to have several pupils in each grade. Proper stimulus to intensive work cannot be obtained in classes of one, two, or three pupils. Emulation and competition are too vital in child life to be neglected and these motives cannot be stirred without numbers. It may well be doubted whether or not any rural school with a total enrollment of less than 30 pupils can be kept permanently efficient.

In Kansas the average enrollment for one-teacher schools for 1912 was 21 pupils, and the average attendance was only 15 pupils. In the heart of our agricultural belt there are nine States, with 21,646 rural schools having an enrollment of

less than 15 children, while in the 15 States where figures are obtainable it is found that 27.6 per cent of all of the one-room rural schools have an enrollment of less than 15 pupils. The average enrollment in one-teacher schools for the 21 States reporting in 1910 is 31.5 to each school. If the average attendance were three fourths of the total enrollment, which is a high average for the country school, that would mean the average attendance for the average rural school is under 24 pupils. In Iowa there are 257 schools with a total enrollment of 5 or less, and 522 with an average attendance of 5 or less. There were also 6147, nearly half of the total number of rural schools, with an attendance of 6 to 15. In Missouri about two fifths of the total number of rural schools have an average attendance of 20 or less. In Nebraska more than half the rural schools have an average attendance of 16 or less.

These figures indicate all too plainly the necessity of re-districting the rural schools. Consolidations are imperative. The extent to which this consolidation should go is a matter for discussion, but of the general principle there can be no question. No one of the fundamental changes demanded in rural-school improvement can be brought about in the emasculated district with only a dozen eligible young people within its borders. A school requires pupils, and a good school demands not only enough of them to make life attractive and inspiring inside the schoolroom, on the playgrounds, and in the social relationships and contacts outside the school exercises, but also enough of them to permit of a certain specialization in the teaching. While the community center may not be the school, it doubtless ought to be, and an active community life is an indispensable source of permanent school effectiveness.

The weaknesses of the single isolated district are so evident that there is everywhere an effort to get rid of it in

favor of a larger unit and a more centralized administration. New England led in the evolution of the district system, to meet a pioneer need, but also led in substituting the township system for it. Many of the North Central States have also established either compulsory or permissive township control. The Southern States naturally adopted the county unit because it was indigenous and already existed in other phases of local government, and some of our Northern States have also recently adopted it. Wherever adopted the county unit has shown its superiority to other smaller units for school control, and it will doubtless be further extended within the near future. Its adoption is to-day a live issue in several States.

(2) **Need for better equipment.** The second essential of a socialized rural school is adequate material and teaching equipment. The little one-room school must ultimately disappear. Provision must be made for manual training, the domestic arts, and for different group activities. If the course of study is socialized, it will be found that different phases of work, such as manual training, sewing, and cooking, will have to be carried on at the same time, and this cannot be done most effectively in the same room. This calls for consolidation, a revised type of rural-school architecture, and the addition of sufficient equipment to permit of the carrying-on of the new types of educational work.

Not only will the building and its equipment have to be enlarged, but additional space about the building will have to be provided for playground and experimental purposes. Country children need to be taught how to play, what to play, and above all the value of play in cultural development. They need play inspiration, a thing more difficult to acquire in the country than in the city, and seldom acquired off the school grounds. A social center for young people without play facilities is inconceivable. From one to two

acres of land for this purpose is the minimum. At present, however, many schoolhouses, located far out in the country where land is cheap, are built on mere city-size lots.

In addition to the playgrounds there must be land for agricultural purposes. Agriculture, gardening, etc., cannot be properly taught without laboratory facilities; and the best laboratory is agricultural land. The best agricultural teachers of the Middle Ages were the monks, and the best experimental farms were the lands about the monasteries. The same thing will be true of the American rural teachers and schools before the middle of the twentieth century. Every consolidated rural school might well conduct a small model farm. Even the small district school might work toward this end and do some practical farm experimentation. This would call for a resident teacher of more permanent tenure than the present rural teacher. Ideally it would call for a man and a woman in each district and require a "teacherage," or place of residence, on the premises for the teacher. Such are now being provided in many progressive localities.

(3) Need for better financial support. All this calls for better financial support and better public management than now exists. Farm property now pays a much smaller tax rate for schools than city property. A lower rate was necessary in the days of farm poverty; but the great recent increase of rural prosperity should pave the way for increased expenditure for educational purposes.

In Kansas, the local school tax paid [by the cities] in 1910 was about eighty per cent more than that paid by country districts. In Missouri, the last printed report of the state superintendent of public instruction shows towns and cities as paying a seventy-five per cent higher rate than the country districts. In Minnesota, towns and cities average nearly three times the rate paid by rural districts. In Ohio, towns and cities are more than ten per cent higher than rural districts, even where the rural districts maintain

a full elementary and high-school course. In Nebraska and Iowa, the town and city rate is fully double that of the country districts.¹

This discrepancy is natural where only elementary work is done in the rural schools, but it shows the possibility of immensely increasing rural-school revenues without burdening farmers with unusual taxes. Only a proper appreciation of the value of education and a willingness to invest as freely in means of advancing the welfare of their children on the part of farmers as is now shown by urban residents are necessary to change their relative status.

Along with better financial support must also come the better means of administering rural schools. This will come largely with the enlarging of rural districts and the centralization of administration in township or county units.

(4) **Socializing the teaching force.** The fourth essential of the socialized rural schools is a force of specially trained teachers, with comparatively permanent tenure. Rural communities must learn, not only to pay as large annual salaries for their teachers as are paid in the cities, but must also see that they get teachers with special training for rural leadership. A general education is no longer sufficient for teachers, any more than for other professional men. This is particularly true where specific training is demanded. The teacher must also be given a sufficiently long term of office to become a vital factor in the community. One can give his best efforts only where he feels himself a permanent resident. It takes a year at least to enable the teacher to get a real hold upon the citizens, to learn the local needs, and to map out a practicable program of advancement. Little can be done in vitalizing school work until teacher, patron, and pupil accept their relationship as one of comparative permanence.

(5) **Socializing the curriculum.** The fifth essential is a

¹ George H. Betts, *New Ideals in Rural Schools*, p. 44.

program of studies adapted to the needs of rural pupils. Only such a program can pave the way for the other advances demanded. Much is now being done in our teachers' colleges and agricultural schools to plan such a program. Educational theory is fairly well developed along this line, but much remains to be done in the way of making it practical. It is easier to decide, in a general way, what ought to be taught than it is to go into the average rural community, with its traditions and prejudices, and teach it. It is generally agreed that a certain amount of agriculture, school gardening, manual training, cooking, and sewing ought to be taught; but to find teachers for the rural schools who can teach these things and make them both cultural and practical is beyond the possibilities of the near future under the present district form of rural-school administration. Many new teachers are being given partial training for these things, and, as wages and school support are increased, others will be found willing to prepare themselves for such rural service even better than the best teachers of the present have done.

(6) **Community interest in the schools.** The sixth essential is proper community interest and coöperation. Much of the experimental work needed can be done in the homes of the pupils when the parents are made fully aware of its value. Many of the best mental and moral qualities, such as originality, initiative, independence, and willingness to assume responsibility, can be best developed in this way. A properly aroused community can offer prizes for the best articles made or the best commodities grown, and establish incentives that will lead to intensive efforts on the part of rural children heretofore unknown. Apparent miracles have been wrought in some districts where the community has been stirred by a virile teacher, and even in a few cases whole counties have been inspired to new life by superintendents with energy, enthusiasm, common sense, and a

vision. Examples of what can be done are shown by the work of Superintendent Benson in Wright County, Iowa; Miss Jessie Field in Page County, Iowa; Mr. E. J. Tobin in Cook County, Illinois; Mr. O. J. Kerns in Winnebago County, Illinois; and Mr. Zebulon Judd in Wake County, North Carolina. What these leaders are doing is only a foretaste of what others will do when the days of pioneering are past.

Progress in district-system States, however, is almost painfully slow, and is likely to continue to be so until a larger administrative unit is substituted for the district. The best form for most States is the county unit. Under it rapid progress is possible. Consolidated schools, large enough and good enough to awaken community interest and pride, can then be established, and these can be provided with adequate equipment and teachers trained for real rural service. The cost, too, being spread over larger areas, usually will be no more than for the present poor schools, and often will be less. Such schools become landmarks, and awaken large community interest on the part of country people.

3. The socialized city-school system

Since the discussions of all of the previous chapters of Part II can be applied readily to city-school conditions, only a general statement of the demands of socialization in reference to the city-school system, need be made here.

Basis of the city problem. As the great problems of the country grow out of isolation, so the great problems of the city grow out of congestion. In our rapidly expanding cities great masses of people congregate together, and must live in intimate association. Various racial elements, with their traditions, their customs, their likes and dislikes, their religious and political preferences, and their cultural inheritance, must come into daily contact. Representatives of

every social and economic stratum are found, frequently living in the same square, or necessarily in neighboring blocks, and mixed together in one great melting-pot. Practically every institution is shot through with class differences and divergent ideals. Government, the church, social life, education, business, amusements, — each and all show the effects of stress and strain, jealousy and envy, ambition and greed, intermingled with the higher human qualities of kindness, friendship, fairness, cheerfulness, and generosity. Such a condition of affairs gives rise to constant contacts and conflicts, out of which come toleration and progress. The selfish individualism so characteristic of rural people has much less chance to survive in the constant rubbing of elbows in our city life.

The city frontier. Just as new nations show the effects of haste and waste, so our rapidly built American cities show a new type of frontier. This is not the frontier of the explorer, the hunter, the trapper, or the remote settler, but that of the adventurer — the adventurer into a new environment and into a more complex society. As our cities everywhere have drawn to them both the strongest and the weakest of our native population, and have in addition received most of the foreigners literally dumped upon our shores, many have found trouble in maintaining a satisfactory existence in the new environment. The necessary close community relationships and dependence of city life everywhere create problems, but when complicated with newness these problems are multiplied. No other cities in any age have had the task of moulding such enormous, such rapidly assembled, and such heterogeneous populations into working relations in a brief period of time as have the American cities.

The task of assimilating this rapid influx of new population has been thrown upon the public school more than upon any other institution. That the schools have done so well is

the wonder and the pride of all, but that they have done so ill is equally the problem of all. The process of assimilation and socialization, to prepare the way for national amalgamation, must continue to be largely the work of the schools, and this fact makes the greater socialization of public education of prime importance to the general welfare of our people.

City-school administration. Much the same processes required for the socialization of rural education will be required in the cities.

In the first place, the schools must be conceived of as representing the highest expression of the efforts of the community and of the State toward self-preservation and improvement. To this end the administration of public education should be placed on a high plane, and the schools should be freed from all partisan, personal, and religious influences. Expert administrators should be secured, and to them should be entrusted all technical and professional functions. Every effort should be made to provide such a system of public education as will best meet the needs of the children of all the different classes which comprise the city's population. The board for school control, responsible to the people for results, should be given large powers in matters of taxation and school policy, and be freed from all interference from the mayor, city council, or other strictly city officials. Equality of opportunity for all of the children is the goal, and this will require many different types of schools, courses, and instruction.

Further city-school expansion. As in the case of the rural school, additional income will also be needed to provide equipment for the varied work demanded by different classes of pupils. When the needed reorganizations and additions have been effected, more pupils will continue into the upper grades and into the special schools and the high

school, and there will be a continuing demand for more money to provide advanced and special work. As the former elementary school was expanded into twelve grades by the addition of the high school, and the high school was expanded by the addition of new courses of instruction, so we may expect the school system to be further broadened and extended. In time many of our city high schools will be further expanded by the addition of the junior college. More students will then have to be provided for, and more years of training offered for each student.

Reorganizing the curriculum. Another requirement in the better socialization of our city schools, analogous to that needed for rural education, is the further working-over of the curriculum in order to adapt the traditional studies more fully to the changed conditions of our national life, and the addition of new studies to meet new demands. As the function of the school broadens by accepting the enlarged burdens thrust upon it by the home and the community and the State, and as its time demands upon youth lengthen, it must reorganize its present materials and add whatever is necessary to fill up the gaps left by diminished home and industrial training. It must not only accept these duties, but it should be able to perform them better than they have been performed before. With the changing world conditions the school must also accept new duties in the training of citizens, and be prepared to render still larger and larger service to the State. Consequently the school must offer varied, specific, and extended training along all lines — manual, domestic, technical, cultural — and moral training must be provided for by definitely directed school work.

Making the school a social center. Another requirement made necessary by the enlarged mission of the schools, is the focalizing of not only youthful life and interests, but the interests of the community as well, about the school plant as

a social center. In proportion as the home and other phases of community life fail to direct and properly vary the activities of children, it must be done by the schools. This can be accomplished only by giving educational occupation to the leisure time, as well as to the proper work time of pupils. Avocations as well as vocations must be provided for. Athletic, social, and cultural life must be stimulated and supervised. A five-hour day for one hundred and eighty days in the year is no longer sufficient. Mere classroom instruction has ceased to be the only necessary activity of teachers. Our most progressive schools are now beginning to hold practically all-day sessions, all the year round, with only such vacations as other social organizations enjoy, and are adapting their work to the all-round needs and interests of the school population. The need of materially enlarged funds with which to work is the chief obstacle to further progress in this direction.

Professionalizing the teachers. Successfully to carry out the above requirements another advance is necessary. Many of the reforms now advocated cannot be accomplished by our present teaching body. The feminization of teaching which has taken place in the last half-century may have been on the whole a good thing. Certainly it has introduced a new and helpful element into the training of the young, and women will always continue prominent in the work, but too many have entered the field without zeal and without any idea of permanence. Consequently they have not prepared adequately, and their competition has kept men from the field. Properly socialized school work demands a restoration of a practical equality in the number of men and women engaged in teaching the differentiated courses needed for training both sexes. This equality, as previously shown, will aid in the better professionalization of teaching. A dignified professional status for teachers

cannot be attained without two other fundamental changes. Salaries must be raised to the point where they will "cover the expenses of that mode of life which is thought appropriate" for the teacher, and that will secure for him the three essential features in the teacher's work, namely, "freedom, efficiency, and dignity." Teachers also must become interested in community service, and must develop a feeling of brotherhood with their co-workers. Nothing short of extended training, specifically directed along professional lines, can secure these things.

It has been estimated that less than twenty per cent of our teachers have had any professional training whatever. This does not, of course, hold true in the cities, now under discussion; but by far too large a proportion of teachers in even progressive school systems have not had enough technical training to warrant adequate professional salaries, or any claim to the social recognition accorded to better established professional practitioners in other lines of service. A true professional spirit, founded upon a full course of professional preparation under socialized conditions, and a proper public recognition of efficient service through increased salaries, are fundamental in securing the virile personalities necessary to carry out a socialized school program.

The socialization of teaching methods. The final element of the socially redirected school is the socialization of the teaching method. This requires an adequate understanding of both sociology and psychology, and an equal use of educational sociology and educational psychology in laying the foundations of the methods to be used in the practical work of education. Social instincts must be equally as prominent as individual instincts in motivation, and social ends as prominent as individual ends in preparing the pupil, through the school society, for the larger society he is to enter. Group projects must be as freely used as individual projects in

stimulating effort. Group dependence must be encouraged no less than individual independence. The dynamogenic effect of pupil upon pupil must be as fully utilized as the stimulus of teacher upon pupils. Social solidarity in the school group must be sought in combination with individual freedom. Methods of control must be adapted to the production of group loyalty and coöperation no less than individual obedience and rectitude. In short, it may be stated that a continual process of socialization must run side by side with the process of individualization through every school activity, and that the children's group must be put upon the same level with the individual child as the basis of every method used in the development of intelligence and character.

Signs of progress. All of these changes necessary to the socialization of our schools are being brought about slowly, as befits an institution whose function is still largely to conserve and perpetuate the culture of the past; but as education becomes more scientific, more inclusive, and more able to determine with accuracy and finality the destiny of its clientèle, it must also become more aggressive. We are arriving at the stage of culture where we can exercise prevision and deliberate choice instead of accepting traditional standards. Therefore we must look inward and outward and forward more freely and more often than backward. Children must still be drilled in the select things coming down from the past, but they must be trained more fully in the essentials of their present and probable future environments. We must adapt old methods and knowledge areas to new conditions, and we must invent new methods and new materials to fulfill new requirements. Many of these new things are being tried out in our experimental schools. Training schools, which are at least partly experimental, should be connected with every teachers' college. Institutions, such

as the Francis Parker School, the Ethical Culture School, the Washington Irving Girls' High School, the Preparatory School of the University of Missouri, and the public schools of such cities as Gary, Los Angeles, and Boisé, have passed beyond the purely experimental stage. They are realities, and by their leadership are exercising a tremendous influence on present-day education. Such aggressive schools make mistakes; and are at times open to much criticism, but they have not only gone far toward socializing themselves, but are doing much, by both precept and example, to spread the gospel of socialization to others. The old pedagogical drillmaster is rapidly giving way to the new teacher-leader, the old educational theorist to the new educational statesman, and a new educational science is revivifying an old educational art into a new era of educational progress.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND INVESTIGATION

1. What are some of the elements of conservatism in rural life which make rural-school progress difficult?
2. Should a rural teacher take an active part in the selection of board members?
3. Should a minimum tax rate for rural schools be fixed by state law?
4. What practicable means can you suggest for increasing the length of tenure of rural teachers in particular positions?
5. Do you think a minimum salary for rural teachers should be fixed by state law?
6. Would a schedule of rural salaries based upon length of experience and added educational training be justifiable? How might it be brought about?
7. Prepare a brief for or against compulsory consolidation of small rural districts.
8. Prepare a class report on the rural "teacherage."
9. How would you go about arousing community interest in a rural school? (See *The Corn Lady*, by Miss Jessie Field.)
10. Read descriptions of the Rock Hill Experimental Rural School and write a criticism of it. (See Eggleston and Bruère and Bulletin No. 42, 1912, of the U.S. Bureau of Education.)
11. Prepare a course of study for a rural high school. (For suggestions see Bulletins No. 20, and No. 49, 1913, of the U.S. Bureau of Education.)

12. In what way do the rapidly built American cities resemble the conditions of the frontier?
13. Is a constitutional provision, now found in many States, limiting the amount of taxes for school purposes, desirable?
14. Why does the "mode of life" thought appropriate to the teacher demand a higher wage than that of the artisan?
15. What qualities are necessary to make of the teacher an "educational statesman"?
16. Make an analytical report on the Gary schools.
17. What are the essentials of an experimental school? Why should teachers' colleges support one?

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